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EDUCATION COMMISSION.

REPORTS

OF THE

ASSISTANT COMMISSIONERS

APPOINTED TO INQUIRE INTO

THE STATE OF POPULAR EDUCATION IN CONTINENTAL EUROPE

AND ON

EDUCATIONAL CHARITIES IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

1861.

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Vol. IV.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.

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INSTRUCTIONS

TO THE

ASSISTANT COMMISSIONERS FOR CONTINENTAL EUROPE.

INSTRUCTIONS *to the* ASSISTANT COMMISSIONERS *appointed to inquire into the* STATE *of* POPULAR EDUCATION *in* CONTINENTAL EUROPE.

17, Great Queen Street, Westminster,
SIR, February 7, 1859.

THE Education Commissioners having appointed you to be an Assistant Commissioner in their inquiry, recommend the following instructions to your attentive consideration:

The Commissioners have been commanded by Her Majesty to inquire into the present State of Popular Education in England, and to consider and report what measures, if any, are required for the extension of sound and cheap elementary instruction to all classes of the people.

The Commissioners wish you to obtain from the countries to which you may be sent as broad a view as possible of their general systems of education, the manner and degree in which they are practically carried out, and their effects on the population.

The subject-matter of your inquiry may be considered under the following heads:—

1. The voluntary or compulsory character of the education.
2. The nature of the education.
3. The means by which it is supplied.
4. The regulations by which it is governed.
5. Its results.

1. *Compulsory Education.*—If a system of compulsory education is in force in any country which you may visit, you will ascertain,—*First*, what laws are in existence upon the subject; *secondly*, by what means they are enforced; *thirdly*, how far they are obeyed. Upon the first subject you will probably find little difficulty in obtaining authentic information, and you would do well to be guided, in taking steps to obtain it, by the advice of the local representatives of the British Government. You should obtain for the Commissioners copies of any enactments upon the subject which may be in force.

With respect to the means by which such laws are enforced, you will direct special attention to two points,—*First*, upon whom is the obligation of the child's attendance laid? Is the parent, the employer, or the child liable to any, and what punishment, for the child's non-attendance at school?

If the obligation is laid upon the parent, is any provision made for his compensation for the loss of the profits which would have accrued from the child's labour? Is any provision made by

the State, when the parents are very poor, for providing for the subsistence of children at school who are prevented while at school from contributing to the income of the family? In connexion with this subject, you will not fail to inquire whether infant labour is employed in the countries which you visit, or whether arrangements are made to dispense with it. In the latter case you will endeavour to ascertain which is the cause and which is the effect; that is so say, whether the children are sent to school because their labour is not used, or whether the labour of the children cannot be used because they are required to be in school.

If the obligation of school attendance is ensured by prohibiting the employment of children within the school age, or of those who cannot satisfy certain tests of proficiency in education, you will inquire into the nature and sufficiency of the penalty for disobedience. You will also inquire whether any considerable number of children are excluded from employment by inability to fulfil educational tests.

If the obligation is laid on the child, you should inquire what means are employed for compelling its attendance.

Secondly.—With respect to the manner in which these laws are enforced, you will inquire whether any and what means are employed for ascertaining the number of children within the school age in a given district, and whether or not they are in attendance at school. Is the parent obliged to give a list of his children, and to say where they are? Is an account kept of all the schools, public and private, within a given district, and of the attendance of scholars; and is that list compared with a list of the children living in the district? Whose duty is it to keep and to compare such lists? If this is not done, are there any other and what means of ascertaining the fact that children do attend school, or is it left to the discretion of individuals, whether officials or private persons, to enforce the law and to set it in motion? If so, are any special powers of obtaining evidence lodged in any person, official or otherwise? Does the law allow a person liable to be punished in respect of the non-attendance of a child to be questioned as to that child's attendance at school? Is such a person bound to prove that the child does attend school; or is the prosecutor, public or private, bound to prove that it does not?

If a parent changes his residence, what becomes of the child's school attendance? Is the parent allowed to remove his children at pleasure from school to school, or is he compelled to keep them for any particular time at some given school? Is there any mode of finding out where a person goes who changes his place of abode? Is the passport system or any other system of police regulations made subservient, or is it in practice essential to compulsory education in the countries which you visit? Is the education so provided gratuitous or not?

Thirdly.—In relation to the degree of obedience yielded to laws making education compulsory, the most important subject

for your inquiry will be, the number of convictions which take place under the penal clauses of those laws. You should endeavour to ascertain the state of things in relation to this matter as minutely as possible, and it would be particularly important to trace any connexion which may exist between the character and pursuits of the populations of particular districts, and the frequency or otherwise of such convictions.

In addition to these inquiries into direct compulsory education, you will inquire into what may be described as indirect and partial compulsion. In the countries which you visit, are there any systems analogous to the half-time system in our own factories, or to the modification of it which applies to print-works? Do the richer classes of society or the ministers of religion attempt by persuasion, by advice, or by influence, to promote the education of the poor? Does the State annex any advantage to education, either by way of civil privileges, or by throwing open offices to competition, or by imposing an educational test upon candidates for employment? You will limit your inquiries upon these heads to such institutions as affect principally the elementary education of the countries which you visit.

You will also inquire as to the elementary schools which may be directly connected with special departments of the executive government; as, for example, schools for the children of soldiers or of workmen in State employment. State schools of a higher kind (such as the Polytechnic School at Paris) do not fall within the scope of your inquiry; but you will ascertain whether any means are provided by the State by which poor children who give proofs of ability in elementary schools are enabled to carry on their education in other schools of a higher character; what prospects are thus opened to them? and how much is annually spent on this object?

2. *The Character of the Education provided.*—The Commissioners wish for a very general and succinct account of the character of popular education in the various countries which you visit. The subject divides itself into the two heads of the education of the teachers and that of the children.

With respect to the education of the teachers, you will inquire what qualifications are necessary in order to enable persons to act as teachers, and particularly whether they are either obliged or encouraged to attend at normal schools or training colleges, and, if so, what is the usual duration of their attendance, what are the subjects in which they are instructed, and, in particular, whether they are instructed in the art of *teaching*? What is understood to be comprised in that art, and how is the instruction conveyed? This part of the inquiry is very important, and should be minutely followed out. What distinctions or other encouragements are provided for teachers, what incomes do they earn in their employment, and what means of increasing their emoluments by proving an increase of efficiency, or in any other manner, are open to them? Have they a prospect of retiring

pensions, or of any other and what civil or pecuniary advantages? Do they serve as assistant masters before they become principal masters, and are they under any and what obligation to continue to act as schoolmasters after their appointment, or may they, as in England, abandon that occupation at pleasure?

You will also inquire into the means (if any) which are taken in order to keep up the supply of candidates for the office of teacher, and, in particular, whether there is anything analogous in the countries which you may visit to the system of apprenticing pupil-teachers, which has been in force in this country for the last thirteen years.

With respect to the education of the children, you will ascertain its average duration, the average age of the children, the nature of the matters taught, and very generally the mode of teaching them. The Commissioners do not wish you to inquire at any length into the details connected with this subject, but they would wish to know how far attempts are made to carry popular education beyond the elementary subjects of reading, writing, and arithmetic; and, in particular, whether any efforts are made to cultivate the feelings and the imagination by instruction in music or other subjects; whether industrial training prevails, and to what extent, and whether certificates of skill are awarded, upon examination, to artizans. You will also inquire how far the education given is adapted to the future occupations of the children; whether practical utility, or mental training, or any other, and what effect is principally aimed at in the selection of subjects of instruction; and, above all, how far religious is associated with secular instruction, how far difficulties arising from differences in religious belief are in practice found to exist, and what modes are adopted for overcoming them. If secular instruction alone is given, what are its results.

In conclusion, the Commissioners wish to know whether the popular education of the countries which you visit is confined to day schools, or whether there are evening as well as day schools, and Sunday as well as week-day schools; and if so, what functions do evening and Sunday schools discharge in the general education of the country.

3. *The Means by which Education is supplied.*—In England, as you are aware, the supply of education, as well as its demand, is, in the first instance, entirely voluntary, and it is only in support of voluntary efforts that taxation is employed. The Government, in aid of private contributions, makes grants of money to certain schools and training colleges, and provides a system of inspection for schools so assisted; but, with the exception of pauper schools, military and naval schools, and a few other establishments connected with different departments of the State, public elementary schools in England are established by private benevolence, managed by private committees, and, in a vast majority of cases, connected with voluntary central societies, which are, generally speaking, distinguished from

each other as the representatives of some particular religious denomination or principle. Besides these, there are many endowed schools, which are usually governed by trustees, over whom the central Government can exercise no control whatever except through legal procedure. There are also a vast number of private schools, conducted for private advantage. You will ascertain how far this state of things exists in the countries which you visit.

How are elementary public schools established, how are they governed, how are they supported? Is the education in them given gratuitously, or are fees exacted, and if so, what is their amount? Do societies exist corresponding to the great educational societies with which public schools are usually connected in England? If so, you should obtain copies of authentic documents relating to their operations, or by some other means collect authentic information as to their resources, their spheres of operation, and the nature of their relation to the schools connected with them. Whether such societies exist or not, you should obtain information, from such sources as may be available, as to the amount of private donations devoted to purposes connected with education, the objects in which they are employed, and the degree in which they are stimulated or repressed by legal interference.

Are there any endowments for purposes of education, and, if so, who administers the funds, what is their aggregate amount, and to what control, if any, are they subject? Within what limits, and under what restrictions, if any, are private persons allowed to endow schools?

Do private schools exist at all? If they do, are the schoolmasters in any way licensed by the State? Are their establishments subject to any sort of superintendence or inspection, and how is that superintendence or inspection carried out?

4. *The Government of Schools.*—Having ascertained the degree in which private enterprise or benevolence influence the education of the country, you will investigate its connexion with the Government. In most cases you will probably find that there exists a central government office or ministry of education, represented locally by various subordinate authorities. You will carefully examine the organization and the authority of such offices. To what extent are they independent? How are they related to the legislature? How to the other central executive departments? How to local and municipal bodies? How are the various authorities related to elementary schools and their teachers? how are schools established, how governed, who appoints, who pays, and who dismisses the master? what rights of appeal have aggrieved persons? who provides for the support of the school, and from what funds? and who sees that it is properly built and efficiently conducted? who inspects it? and what is the amount of public money laid out upon these various objects?

Do universities, academies, and other learned bodies, more or

less connected with and recognized by the State, discharge any functions in regard to popular education?

5. *Results.*—In the last place, you will inquire into the results of education on the populations which you may visit. You will not, of course, be able to make very minute inquiries upon so large a subject; but you should collect such statistical or other facts as may be available. The following returns are specimens of the sort of evidence which might be collected on this point. It would be impossible to set on foot independent statistical inquiries in foreign countries:—

A return of the population of the country.
A return of the number of children under tuition.
A return of the number of schools and schoolmasters.
Returns as to normal colleges.
Returns as to the finances of schools and their government.
Returns as to public worship and Sunday schools.
Returns as to savings' banks.
Returns as to literary, musical, and other artistic institutions.
Returns as to crimes, intemperance, and bastardy.

You should also attempt to form general opinions on the most reliable grounds that you can discover, as to whether the general character of the people appears to have been distinctly affected by an advance or decline of education.

You will not omit to give such historical notices of the growth of education in the countries which you visit as may serve to illustrate your report. These notices will be particularly valuable in relation to the history of endowments, and the establishment and growth of a system of compulsory education.

The Commissioners are fully aware of the extreme difficulty of many of these inquiries. You will do your best to obtain trustworthy evidence in regard to them. Should you find it impossible to do so, you will frankly report that result. They wish you to understand that these instructions are intended to guide, and not to limit, your inquiries. They will be glad to learn any facts, so long as they are definite and authentic, which may tend to throw light upon the subject which Her Majesty has directed them to investigate.

By order of the Commissioners,

FITZJAMES STEPHEN,
Secretary.

REPORT

OF

MATTHEW ARNOLD, ESQ., M.A.

REPORT *of* ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER MATTHEW ARNOLD, Esq., M.A., *on the* SYSTEMS *of* POPULAR EDUCATION *in use in* FRANCE, HOLLAND, *and the* FRENCH CANTONS *of* SWITZERLAND.

MY LORD DUKE AND GENTLEMEN, London, June 1860.

HAVING had the honour to be entrusted by you with the charge of reporting on the systems of popular education in use in France, Holland, and the French Cantons of Switzerland, I proceeded to Paris on the 15th of March 1859.

The British Ambassador at Paris, Earl Cowley, to whom my warmest acknowledgments are due for the prompt kindness with which he gave me his assistance on every occasion when I appealed to him for it, introduced me to M. Rouland, the Minister of Public Instruction, who furnished me with all facilities for prosecuting my inquiry. Not only did M. Rouland obligingly place at my disposal the aid, in Paris, of those officers of his department who could best guide me, but he also supplied me with letters to the Prefects and Rectors, by which I was enabled, after leaving Paris, to extend my researches to the provinces, and to visit schools in every part of France.

From every functionary of the French Government with whom I was placed in relation, I experienced uniform courtesy, attention, and assistance. My thanks are due to them all; but I must be allowed to mention by name two gentlemen, whom I had the advantage of consulting constantly, and to whom my obligations are unbounded, M. Magin and M. Rapet.

M. Magin, now Inspector-General of Primary Instruction, and formerly Rector of the Academy of Nancy, the metropolis of one of the best educated districts in France, has peculiar qualifications, in his wide experience, his thorough mastery of the whole system of French education, his perfect disinterestedness, and his singular clearness of judgment, for guiding an inquirer charged with such an errand as mine. If I have not wholly failed in finding my way through the complicated general question which in France I had to study, it is M. Magin whom I have had, almost always, to thank for my clue.

Recommended by Lord Granville's kindness to the notice of M. Guizot, (whose service in the cause of popular education is one of his many distinctions), I was introduced by M. Guizot to a Primary Inspector, who was, he said, of all men the best qualified to inform me respecting the French schools and the practical working of their system—to M. Rapet. This testimony borne by M. Guizot to M. Rapet's excellence I soon found that every

other voice,—official and unofficial, clerical and lay,—cordially confirmed. Indeed, I could not but be astonished to find one, whom all thus united in deservedly praising, placed in the official hierarchy of public instruction so far below his merits. M. Rapet's guidance and information were invaluable to me in prosecuting my visits to schools.

I afterwards visited Holland and the French Cantons of Switzerland. In these countries, also, I received every assistance, both from the British Legation and from the officers of Government. But the time which I was able to pass in Holland and Switzerland was very limited; it was to France that I principally directed my attention. M. Cousin's report on Public Instruction in Holland is in everyone's hands; the state of things which it describes is to this day little changed. In Switzerland, the German Cantons, the Cantons most interesting to the student of public education,—(Canton Aargau is said to possess the best primary schools in Europe),—were beyond the province assigned to me by my instructions. Even had they fallen within it, I should have hesitated, though their schools are undoubtedly far superior to the French schools, to shorten my inquiry in France in order to visit them.

The day has gone by, when the actual mechanism of primary schools formed the principal object of inquiries upon public education. Rival school-methods have fought their fight; and at the present day we in England, at any rate, think that we know pretty well in what good school-keeping consists. It is not to arbitrate between the monitorial and simultaneous systems, or to give the palm to the best plan for fitting and furnishing schools, that the present Commission has been appointed. That appetite for school-details must indeed be voracious, which at the present day can make its possessor forget, in the spectacle of highly perfected schools, that the vital question is no longer the perfection of elementary schools, but their creation; their creation, and upon what scale this is accomplished, and under what conditions.

France is a country, in population, in extent, in resources, not ill-matched with our own country. In France, therefore, the problem of popular education is presented in nearly the same terms as to ourselves. How is it solved? What does this great agent of popular education do for this great French people, so alike to us in its numbers, so alike to us in its power, so alike to us in its difficulties? This question, I confess, had invincible attractions for me. Moreover, the popular education of Holland and Germany has had its historians; that of France has hitherto remained undescribed.*

I begin, therefore, with France; and my notices of primary instruction in Holland and Switzerland will be but supplementary.

* I speak of special works, composed in the English language, or of which English translations exist. But for general works noticing French education along with that of other countries, see Mr. Kay's interesting book, *The Education of the Poor in England and Europe*, London, 1846; and also, *National Education in Europe*, by Henry Barnard, Superintendent of Common Schools in Connecticut; Hartford, U.S., 1854.

I.

France contains, according to the last census, a population of 36,039,364 inhabitants. Its 86 departments have, for administrative purposes, a division which it will often be necessary, in reading what follows, to bear in mind. Each *department* is divided into *arrondissements;* each *arrondissement* is subdivided into *cantons* and *communes.* There are 363 arrondissements in France, 2,850 cantons, 36,826 communes. The department, the arrondissement, and the commune have each a special civil administration. At the head of the department is the prefect, assisted by a "prefect's council" (*conseil de préfecture*), a judicial body charged with the settlement of legal disputes arising out of the administration of the department; and by an elective council-general, a deliberative body which assigns to the several arrondissements the share to be contributed by each to the State-taxation of the department, and votes the funds employed by the departmental executive. At the head of the arrondissement is the sub-prefect, assisted by another deliberative body, the *conseil d'arrondissement,* which performs for the communes and the arrondissement the same functions which the council-general performs for the arrondissements and the department. Lastly, at the head of the commune is the mayor, assisted by a third deliberative body, the municipal council. The representatives of the executive power in each of the three stages of this hierarchy—the prefects, the sub-prefects, and the mayors—are nominated by the central executive power, the State; the deliberative and tax-voting assemblies are elected by the tax-paying bodies whom they respectively represent.* This organization was established in 1800, under the government of the First Consul.

The mayors and the municipal councils in France (with whom popular education is chiefly concerned) form a machinery for local self-government which we do not possess. The commune does not correspond to our parish, (a word still used in France, but as an ecclesiastical term only), because the commune, even in the largest French town, is but one, while the parishes, in most English towns of importance, are many. But if we imagine every English borough retaining its unity of municipal organization, and this organization extended to every town not a borough, and above all to every country parish; if we imagine, in every small town, in every considerable village of England, an elective local council, answerable for the police, the sanitary condition, the roads, the public buildings, the public schools of their locality, we shall be able to conceive the completeness of the municipal organization which actually exists in France.

Three forms of religious worship are recognized by the law: the Roman Catholic, the Protestant, and the Jewish.† The ministers of these three communions are alike salaried by the

* It is to be noted, however, that the prefect has the power to dissolve any municipal council of his department, and to replace it by a municipal commission of his own naming. At Paris and in all the great towns this has been done; but it is, also, often done in the country. About 2,000 municipal councils have been thus dissolved since 1851.

† In France always called "*Israélite*," the terms *Jew*, *Jewish*, being considered somewhat opprobrious.

State. The Roman Catholic religion is truly, as designated in the Concordat, (the instrument which fixes the modern legal constitution of the French Church), "the religion of the great "majority of the French people." It is professed by more than thirteen-fifteenths of the population. There are about five millions * of Protestants, divided between the Lutheran and Calvinist communions. The Calvinists are the more numerous, having 510 salaried ministers, while the Lutherans have but 255. The Jews are in number about 70,000.

In France, as in other countries, the Christian Church from the earliest times recognized the duty, and asserted the right, of organizing and controlling public education. Besides the monastery schools, besides the ecclesiastical or episcopal schools, the Church professed the obligation to provide schools of a humbler order, schools for the poor laity, *les pauvres laïques*. The capitularies of Theodulf, appointed bishop of Orleans by Charlemagne, direct his clergy to open, in the towns and villages of his diocese, schools where the children of the faithful might receive, free of cost, the elements of instruction.† From the fourth century to the sixteenth, canons and decrees enjoined even the village priest to collect at the ecclesiastical dwelling (*pastophorium*) a certain number of readers, and to train them to the study of letters as well as to the ministry of the altar. The Lateran Council of 1179 gave injunctions, renewed by the Lateran Council of 1215, that a prebend in every cathedral should be devoted to the maintenance of a preceptor charged to instruct, without fee, the young. This instruction, like that of the higher schools, was under the superintendence of an ecclesiastical functionary delegated for the purpose by the bishop. He bore the title of *écolâtre*, or master of the schools, and generally filled at the same time the office of *chantre*, or master of the choir.

But, if the Church arrogated the right to govern public education, the State, in France, arrogated it yet more imperiously. This power, which, though maintaining Roman Catholicism, opposed to ecclesiastical encroachment the Propositions of Bossuet in 1682, the organic articles of the Concordat in 1802, inherits from the Roman Empire, and has never ceased to put in practice, the loftiest idea of State attributions and State authority. It has maintained this idea against the Pope; it has maintained it against its own subjects. Charlemagne assumed the right of subjecting his bishops to his own examination, in order to assure himself that, amid the distractions of their benefices, they had not let their learning grow rusty. Henry the Fourth, in his Statutes of Reformation for the University of Paris, issued in 1598, takes it upon him to ordain that no boy who has passed the age of nine

* I quote from the latest information, a work by M. Magin, *Cours de Géographie Moderne*, Paris, 1858, authorized by the French Government for use in the public schools. But on this subject of the numbers of the French Protestants there is the most astonishing diversity of assertion. The lowest estimate which I have seen puts them at one million; the highest at six millions.

† See p. 90 of *Histoire de l'Instruction Publique en Europe, et principalement en France*, par Vallet de Viriville, professeur auxiliaire à l'École des Chartes, 4to, Paris, 1849; a work to which, both here and in what follows, I am much indebted.

years shall be allowed to be educated at home.* Napoleon, after establishing his University, decrees that after a certain day every educational establishment in France which is not provided with an express authorization from his Grand-Master, shall cease to exist.† The French State may refuse to concede to the Church the control of public instruction, but it agrees with the Church in holding that public instruction must be in the hands of an authorized body. *Collegia illicita dissolvantur,* said the Roman Law; unauthorized associations are to be dissolved. The greatest of French jurists, the friend of Pascal,‡ enforces the same maxim; "The first rule for all associations," he says, "is that they be "established for some public advantage *and by the order or "permission of the Sovereign;* for all assemblages of more than "one or two persons without this order or permission would be "unlawful." "Everyone knows," says another great lawyer,§ "that no assembly of persons may take place in a realm unless "with the authorization of the sovereign." Finally, the same principle is consecrated by the existing law of France, by the Penal Code;‖ which declares that "no association of more than "twenty persons, whose object shall be to assemble daily or at "certain fixed times in order to occupy themselves with religious, "literary, political, or other matters, may be formed unless with "the consent of the Government, and under such conditions as it "shall please the public authorities to impose." Theocracy in France, with M. de Bonald for its organ,¶ may desire to entrust education to a clerical corporation; modern society in France, with the first Napoleon for its organ, may desire to entrust it to a lay corporation; but both are agreed not to entrust it to itself. Liberty of instruction, such as we conceive it, appears in French legislation once, and once only; it appears there in 1793, under the Reign of Terror.

The high Roman and Imperial theory as to the duties and powers of the State has never obtained in England. It would be vain to seek to introduce it; but it is also vain, in a country where this theory is powerless, to waste time in decrying it. I believe, as every Englishman believes, that over-government is pernicious and dangerous; that the State cannot safely be trusted to undertake everything, to superintend everywhere. But I hope that I may be allowed, having made this profession of faith, to point out as may be necessary, without perpetually repeating it, some inconveniences of *under-government;* to call their attention to certain important particulars, in which, within the domain of a single great question, that of public education, the direct action of the State has produced salutary and enviable results.

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* Art. 4. Nullus in privatis ædibus pueros, qui nonum annum excesserint, instituat et doceat.

† Decree of 11 September 1808.

‡ Domat, the author of *Les Lois civiles dans leur Ordre naturel.* He died in 1696.

§ Rousseau de Lacombe, author of the *Recueil de Jurisprudence civile,* and of the *Recueil de Jurisprudence canonique.* He died in 1749.

‖ *Code Pénal,* art. 291.

¶ See his *Théorie du Pouvoir politique et religieux,* published in 1796.

From the fifth to the fifteenth century the institutions founded for popular instruction bore little or no fruit, because instruction in Europe was up to that time nearly confined to one class of society, the clergy. From the very earliest times, indeed, a simple shepherd boy, like Saint Patroclus of Berry, might enter a monastery school and become one of the learned men of his epoch; but it was on condition of embracing the ecclesiastical profession. The urban and rural free schools, of which mention has been made, served chiefly to train boys designed for the service of the choir, like the schools for choristers which still survive; or, like the lesser seminaries, of which they were probably the germ, to give the first teaching to boys designed for the ministry. The collectors of autographs, in their quest of the handwriting of noble and distinguished persons, do not mount beyond the fourteenth century, because up to that time even great personages seldom knew how to write. When such was the school-learning of the rich and noble, it may be imagined what was that of the poor and lowly. It was confined to a little instruction in the catechism and the rudiments of religion, given, where it was given at all, to the children of both sexes alike.

In the fifteenth century there are signs in the laity of France both of a growing demand for school instruction and of a sense that the Church inefficiently performed her duty of supplying it. In 1412, the inhabitants of Saint Martin de Villers, in the diocese of Evreux, founded a school for their own parish. The bishop complained of an encroachment on his privilege. The new school, he said, injured his own school at Touque. The dispute was settled by the consent of the lay founders of the new school to vest in the bishop the appointment of their teacher. On other occasions the dispute was carried into the courts of law; the courts of law upheld the exclusive privilege of the ecclesiastical authority; and the lay school was closed. But while thus maintaining her school rights, the Church failed to amend her discharge of her school duties. A canon of Notre Dame, Claude Joly, master of the choir and master of the schools in the metropolitan cathedral, who himself exercised in the seventeenth century the superintendence of the ecclesiastical schools of Paris, and who has left a historical account* of them, avows the obligation of the Church and confesses her failure. This confession is made in 1678: not twenty years later† every parish in Scotland had its school.

It is well known how prodigious an impulse the Reformation gave in Protestant countries to the education of the people. The primary instruction of Holland, of Scotland, of Protestant Germany, dates from that event. In France, the ferment of mind, which in England and Germany produced the Reformation, existed; but it took a different course. Yet everywhere the new spirit showed solicitude for popular education, although

* *Traité historique des Écoles épiscopales et ecclésiastiques.* Paris, 1678.
† In 1696.

it could not everywhere found it. In the meetings of the States-General held at Orleans and at Blois in 1560, 1576, and 1588, the Estates called the attention of the sovereign to the want of elementary schools. The nobles proposed to make church benefices contribute yearly a certain sum, to be employed in maintaining schoolmasters and literate persons (*pédagogues et gens lettrés*) in all towns and villages, "for the instruction of "the children of the poor in the Christian religion and other "needful learning, and in sound morality." The Third Estate insisted on the obligation of the clergy to "instruct or cause "to be instructed the children of the poor in all good learning, "according to their capacity, even from their earliest years, "*not delaying or excusing themselves on pretext of the neg-*"*ligence of parents and sponsors.*" The nobles even demanded that "parents who neglected to send their children to school "should be subjected to compulsion and fine." Little was done, however. The ordinance of Orleans, designed to meet the wishes of the Estates of 1560, attempted to revive the ancient prescription of the Councils, by directing that in "every cathedral or col-"legiate church one prebend, or the revenues of the same, should "be permanently devoted to maintain a preceptor, and to give "free schooling to the children of the place." It added a provision unknown to Councils, that this preceptor should be appointed *by the ecclesiastical and municipal authorities conjointly.* In 1563, Charles IX. attempted by letters patent to put this ordinance into execution at Paris; the ecclesiastical authority, the master of the schools, resisted, complaining that his privilege was infringed; and the king gave way.

The Church owed to the laity some compensation for her obstructiveness, and she paid her debt in a certain measure. Civilization owes much to the great religious orders which laboured in the work of teaching; to the Dominicans, the Franciscans, the Benedictines, the Oratorians, the Jesuits. These, however, busied themselves with the education of the rich; but humbler efforts were not wanting, devoted to the service of the poor. A member of the severest of religious communities, a Minim of the Order of St. Francis of Paola, the Père Barré, founded in 1671 an association of teachers for the instruction of poor children of both sexes. The association took the title of "Brothers and Sisters of the Christian and Charitable Schools of "the Child Jesus." Towards 1700 the Ursulines and other sisterhoods, by the establishment of their schools for girls, developed this effort. In 1789 the religious societies engaged in teaching the poor of France, were twenty in number; but the religious society which has prosecuted this work most effectually, which has most merited gratitude by its labours for the education of the poor, and which, at the present day, most claims attention from its numbers and from its influence, is undoubtedly the society of the "Brethren of the Christian Schools."*

It dates from 1679. In that year it was founded by Jean

* Institut des Frères des Écoles Chrétiennes.

Baptiste de Lasalle, a canon of the cathedral church of Rheims, and a man of apostolic piety and zeal, in Rheims, his native town. He resigned his canonry in order to be able to tend his infant institution more assiduously. He drew up for it statutes which are a model of sagacity and moderation, and by which it is still governed. He composed for his schools a handbook of method,* of which later works on the same subject have little improved the precepts, while they entirely lack the unction. He lived long enough to see the fruit of his labours. In 1688 he established at Paris a colony of his *teaching brethren.*† In 1705 he fixed the head-quarters of his institute in Rouen, at the house of Saint Yon, from which his community took one of the titles by which it long was familiarly known.‡ When he died in 1719, with the title of Superior-General of the Brethren of the Christian Schools, his order was established in eight dioceses. In 1724, when the society received a bull of confirmation and approbation from Pope Benedict XIII., it possessed 23 houses in France. In 1785, the number of children taught by the brethren was reckoned at 30,000. Dispersed at the Revolution, they were re-established under the reign of Napoleon, and in 1825, during the Restoration, the number of their houses was 210. In 1848 they had in France 19,414 schools, and taught 1,354,056 children.§ Their central house is now at Paris.

The brethren are enjoined by their statutes to devote themselves to the instruction of boys in all things that pertain to an honest and Christian life. They are not forbidden to receive the rich into their schools, but their principal business is to be with the poor, and to their poorer scholars they are to extend a special affection. They are to obey a Superior-General, who, with two assistants, is to be elected by the assembled directors of the principal houses. The Superior-General is chosen for life, the assistants for ten years. The separate houses are to be governed by directors, chosen for three years. No brother is to take holy orders. Their vows, which are for three years only, are the three regular vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, with another of stability, and of teaching without fee or reward. Even these three-year vows they are not permitted to make until they have been in the institute two years, one of which is passed in the novitiate, the other in a school. They are always to go in company with others of their Order; at first they went in parties of two, now there must be at least three. Together with religious knowledge they are to teach their scholars reading, writing, and arithmetic. They are to have in each of their houses a store of school-books and school-material, which they are to sell to their scholars at the cost price. They are not to talk or gossip with

* *Conduite des Écoles Chrétiennes.*

† Frères enseignants.

‡ The brethren have gone by the names of Frères de Saint Yon, Frères Ignorantins, and Frères des Écoles Chrétiennes. They are now almost universally called by the latter title.

§ I quote from returns supplied by the Superior of the brethren, the Frère Philippe, to M. Vallet de Viriville for his *Histoire de l'Instruction Publique en Europe*, and published in that work. But the above numbers seem to me, I confess, hard to reconcile with those given, from official returns, at p. 58 of this Report.

their scholars, or to hear any news from them. They are to be sparing of punishments. The director of each house is to have the inspection of the schools in connexion with it.

Such are the rules to which this remarkable association owes its vitality. The pious founder, to whose thoughts the misery flowing from the debasement and ignorance of the poor and working classes was perpetually present,* and with whom its relief was a passion, took every precaution not to found, instead of an order of schoolmasters, an order of monks. He proscribed bodily mortification: he strictly limited the number of fasts to be observed by his brethren; he tried to dissuade them from perpetual vows. "He was fearful," says his biographer, "to see his "disciples bind themselves too hastily." At first he allowed them to engage themselves for but a single year; then he fixed three years as the term; finally, and against his will, he consented to admit to perpetual vows some of the most fervent among his followers. The weakness of the disciples was not long in justifying their master's hesitation.

A similar community, established some years later on a much smaller scale, deserves notice, because in connexion with its operations we have one of the few facts testifying to fruit borne by popular instruction, which are to be met with before the Revolution. In the most populous quarter of Paris, the Faubourg St. Antoine, a society for the education of the poor had been founded under the title of "Brethren of the Christian Schools of "the Faubourg St. Antoine," by an ecclesiastic, the Abbé Tabourin. In 1738, this society had established 17 schools. The functionary at the head of the police of Paris declared that the police of the quarter cost, since the establishment of these schools, 30,000f. less than it cost before.

The labours of these religious societies were, however, principally confined to the towns. To their diffusion through the rural districts was opposed the serious obstacle of their expensiveness — an obstacle pointed out in 1818 by the Education Minister of that day, the excellent and admirable M. Royer-Collard.† "The brethren," said M. Royer-Collard, "are un-"doubtedly highly useful and highly to be respected; they do "good service in the towns; *it would not be easy to introduce* "*them into the rural districts because they cost so much more* "*than the ordinary schoolmasters.*" The rule which forbids the brethren to serve in parties of less than three, excellent in many

* He established his institute, says Pope Benedict XIII., in his bull of approbation, "pie considerans innumera quæ ex ignorantiâ, omnium origine malorum, proveniunt "scandala, præsertim in illis, qui, vel egestate oppressi, vel fabrili operi unde vitam "eliciunt operam dantes, quarum vis scientiarum humanarum, *ex defectu æris impendendi*, "non solùm penitus rudes, sed, quod magis dolendum est, elementa religionis Christiana "persæpè ignorant."

† In a debate on a proposal to exempt the brethren from military service. The whole debate, which is very interesting, is to be found (copied from the *Moniteur*) in M. Ambroise Rendu's *Essai sur l'Instruction publique*, (Paris, 1819,) ii. 581. M. Ambroise Rendu, Inspector-General, and afterwards Councillor of the University, distinguished himself by his labours in the cause of public education. His son, M. Eugène Rendu, now employed in the Department of Public Instruction at Paris, has published interesting reports on popular education in Germany and England.

respects, has the inconvenience of rendering difficult their employment in a poor country village, where there are not funds for the payment of three teachers. To spread instruction through the length and breadth of the country was out of their power; and the State continued to find this service undischarged.

The century which saw the brotherhood founded did not close without seeing an effort of the State to undertake the task which for the brotherhood was impossible. But to this effort the State was prompted by a spirit wholly unlike to that which inspired M. de Lasalle, and it reaped from it no more success than it deserved. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the persecuting government of Louis XIV. bethought itself of the village schoolmaster as a useful agent in its work of forcible conversion. A royal edict of December 13th, 1698, gave orders to take the children of heretics from their families at five years old, in order to bring them up, by compulsion, in Catholic schools. But these Catholic schools did not yet exist. The edict, therefore, went on to provide that "there should be established, so far "as it was possible, schoolmasters and schoolmistresses in every "parish which was without them, in order to instruct the children "of both sexes in the principal mysteries of the Catholic, Apos-"tolic, and Roman religion . . . in order, likewise, to teach "reading, *and even writing*, to all who might need them." "To "this end, it is our pleasure," the edict continues, "that in places "where there are no other funds, there shall be a power of "taxing all the inhabitants to raise stipends for the said school-"masters and schoolmistresses, up to a sum of 150 livres a year "for a master, and of 100 for a mistress."* But the arbitrary and violent provisions of this edict made it inexecutable. The village children of France remained free from forcible initiation into the mysteries of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion. They remained, also, without learning how to read and write.

The era approached, from which dates a wholly new history for France; and it is impossible to determine accurately in what state the Revolution of 1789 found the instruction of those masses, on whom it was to confer such unbounded power. Statistics on this point are almost entirely wanting. In a list of the establishments of public instruction which the Revolution found existing in France—a list given by M. Villemain in a most interesting report on secondary instruction†—there is indeed the entry, "*Écoles cantonales, écoles de village*," but opposite to this entry, where the eye looks for figures, it finds a blank, and in a foot-note the words, "The elements for this calculation are "wanting." The poor of the towns had the schools of the religious congregations. It appears, too, that in the want of good elementary schools, the colleges, or grammar-schools for the middle and upper classes, to a very limited extent supplied the

* Art. 9.

† *Rapport au Roi sur l'Instruction secondaire*; Paris, 1843.

deficiency, by admitting to some of the numerous scholarships with which they were endowed a certain number of children from the lower classes. To this cause it is said to be attributable that, in 1789, 1 in every 31 boys of from 8 to 18 years of age was receiving in France secondary instruction, while in 1843 the proportion was but 1 in 35.* In the country, village schools existed here and there. In these no teacher could be appointed unless approved by the ecclesiastical authority; most often he was directly named by the curé. In France, as in other countries, popular tradition represents the incumbent as usually nominating to the post of schoolmaster either his sacristan or the cripple of the village. In the case of foundation schools, the founder or his representatives nominated the teacher; but here, too, the concurrence of the ecclesiastical authority was always required.† The instruction of the mass of the poor remained very nearly what it had been in the middle ages. In conversing with middle-aged working men in the French provinces, I found almost invariably that my informant himself had attended school; more rarely, that his father had attended it; that his grandfather had attended it, never.

II.

The Revolution presented itself with magnificent promises of universal education. Already, in 1775, Turgot, in his celebrated programme, had drawn the outlines of a uniform and national system, to be superintended by a Royal Council. The instructions of all three orders of the States-General loudly called for it. The clergy, while demanding a national system, insisted above all on the necessity of executing with more strictness "the "regulations which tend to maintain and fortify the precious "influence of the curés upon education." The nobles declared simply that "the time was come for propagating through the "country districts the means of instruction for those who lived "there, and for extending this instruction even to the poor." The Third Estate demanded that "public education should be so "modified as to be adapted to the wants of all orders in the "State; that it might form good and useful men in all classes of "society." With the precision of a power which had already discerned its future means of strength, and was determined to use them, this formidable claimant suggested that the municipal and lay authorities should in future share with the Church the appointment and control of public teachers. The Constituent Assembly hastened to respond to the national wishes. A commission was appointed, which after two years of laborious inquiry

* *Rapport au Roi sur l'Instruction secondaire*, p. 56.

† An edict of Louis XIV. (dated April 1695) says "Les régens, précepteurs, maîtres "et maîtresses d'écoles des petits villages seront approuvés par les curés des paroisses ou "autres personnes ecclésiastiques qui ont droit de le faire."—Art. 25.

appeared with a report and the project of a law. By a singular chance, as if no great public question, however alien to him, was to escape the most versatile of statesmen, the reporter of this commission was M. de Talleyrand. The Constituent Assembly received the report on the eve of its separation. It voted no plan of public instruction; but it consecrated in a single famous article the principle upon which such a plan was to repose. It decreed,* "There shall be created and organized a public instruc-
" tion, common to all citizens, gratuitous in respect of those
" branches of tuition which are indispensable for all men. Its
" establishments shall be distributed gradually, in a proportion
" combined with the division of the kingdom."

On the 1st of October the Legislative Assembly met, and six months afterwards† it received from Condorcet another report on national education—another proposed law. But the time was no longer favourable for founding. The Convention replaced the Legislative Assembly;‡ the revolutionary decrees flew thick and fast, and nearly every one of them struck down an institution without giving to it a successor. On the 8th of March 1793, it was decreed that the property of all endowed seats of education in France should be sold, and that the profits should go to the State. On the 18th of August in the same year, the religious corporations devoted to teaching, along with all other corporations, religious and secular, were suppressed, on the ground that "a truly free State must not tolerate within itself
" any corporate body whatever, not even those which, having
" devoted themselves to public instruction, have deserved well of
" their country."§ A little later, on the 15th of September, the abolition of all existing colleges and faculties was pronounced, and the renowned University of Paris, with a host of less distinguished institutions, fell in a common ruin. So complete was the destruction, that in the next year a warm friend of education, Fourcroy, afterwards the chief agent of the First Consul in reviving and reorganizing public instruction, declared to the Convention that France was fast relapsing into barbarism. To this had come the demands of 1789, and the promises of the Constituent Assembly.

The Convention had unquestionably a sincere zeal for popular instruction, and even an exaggerated faith in it. One of its members proposed that no less than three sittings of the Assembly in every ten days should be devoted to this subject alone. It was the Convention which endowed France with two

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* In the "Fundamental Dispositions" of the Constitution of 3rd September 1792. "Il
" sera créé et organisé une instruction publique, commune à tous les citoyens, gratuite
" à l'égard des parties d'enseignement indispensables pour tous les hommes, et dont les
" établissemens seront distribués graduellement, dans un rapport combiné avec la division
" du royaume."

† April 20th, 1792.

‡ September 21st, 1792.

§ "Considérant qu'un état vraim nt libre ne doit souffrir dans son sein aucune
" corporation, pas même celles qui, vouées à l'enseignement public, ont bien mérité
" de la patrie," &c.

admirable institutions, of which the vitality has proved not less great than the usefulness—the Normal School and the Polytechnic School. But it would have been powerless to carry any organized instruction, even a humble one, into a region of society not then prepared to receive it; and the instruction which it dreamed of was by no means humble. By decrees of the 12th of December 1792, and of the 30th of May 1793, it ordered the establishment of primary schools. By a decree of the 21st of October 1793 it gave development to its plan. The primary schools were to be proportioned in number to the population. There was to be one for every 1,500 inhabitants; but no place with more than 400 inhabitants was to be left without a school. The children of all classes were to receive in these schools "that "first education, physical, moral, and intellectual, the best "adapted to develope in them republican manners, patriotism, "and the love of labour." They were to learn "those traits of "virtue which most honour freemen, and particularly those "traits of the French Revolution, the best adapted to elevate the "soul and to render men worthy of liberty and equality." They were to be taught to speak, read, and write correctly the French language; they were to learn "some notions of the "geography of France; the rights and duties of men and "citizens; the first notions of natural and familiar objects; the "use of numbers, the compass, the level, weights and measures, "the lever, the pulley, and the measurement of time. They "were to be often taken into the fields and workshops where "they might see agricultural and industrial work going on, and "they were to take part in it so far as their age would admit." In this manner the Convention filled up the outline traced by the Constituent Assembly. These were the "branches of "tuition" which the French Revolution held to be "indispen-"sable for all men."

A few days afterwards * it proceeded to organize the instruction decreed. A "commission of enlightened patriots and moral "persons" was to be established in every district, in order to determine where the new schools should be placed, and to "*examine all citizens who proposed to devote themselves to the* "*work of national education in the primary schools.*" The commission was to examine candidates as to their acquirements, their aptitude for teaching, their morals, and their patriotism. The examination was to be public. The commission was to form a list of the candidates who had satisfied them, and this list was to be published in each school district. On the *décadi* following its publication, such inhabitants as were parents and guardians, were to meet and choose a teacher from it. Vacancies were to be filled up in the same manner. The decree was to apply to schoolmistresses as well as schoolmasters, and for the salaries of both it fixed a minimum of 1,200 francs (48*l.*). But no woman

* Decree of October 29th, 1793.

of noble family, no woman who had formerly belonged to a religious order, no woman who had formerly been named to the post of teacher by a noble or by an ecclesiastic, was to be eligible for the office of schoolmistress. There was no fear that men thus circumstanced would be chosen by the local authorities; their compassion or their embarrassment might dispose them to be less severe in excluding resourceless women.

The Convention could furnish a programme of instruction, but it could not furnish schools. In despair it renounced the attempt, and addressed itself to private enterprize. On the 19th of December 1793 appeared the startling decree which abandons abruptly the consecrated traditions of public instruction in France, and which in the eyes of every orthodox functionary of that instruction stands as the abomination of desolation, witnessing that the end of the world is come. *L'enseignement est libre*, begins this new voice;—"Teaching is free—it shall be public; "citizens and citizenesses who desire to avail themselves of their "liberty to teach" shall merely be required to inform the municipal authority of their intention to open a school, and of the matters which they propose to teach, and shall produce, besides, a "certificate of civism and good morals." Thus fortified, a teacher might open his school, and the Republic undertook to pay his scholars' fees. There was no fear lest these should be wanting; for the law provided that parents should be compelled, under pain of fine, to send their children to school, thus transferring to the scholar the control from which it exempted the teacher.

Such liberty was too novel to last; and a decree of the next year restricted it.* Freedom of instruction was maintained, in so far as it was still left to the individual to place a school where he would, without first asking the State's leave; but the teacher was subjected to a more exact superintendence. Even his charter of liberty, the decree of December 1793, had committed him to the watchfulness "of the municipality or section, of "parents and guardians, and of society at large;" any of whom might denounce him if he taught anything "contrary to the "laws and to republican morality." The law of 1794 placed him in the hands of a "jury of instruction," to be chosen by the district administration from among fathers of families. This jury was to examine and elect the teacher; he had then to be approved by the district administration; afterwards he was to be superintended in the management of his school by the jury. To quicken the zeal of those parents whom the penalties of the decree of 1793 had failed to move, the new law ordered that "those young citizens who have not attended school shall be "examined, in the presence of the people, at the Feast of the "Young; and, if they shall then be found not to have the "acquirements necessary for French citizens, shall be excluded

* Decree of November 17th, 1794.

" from all public functions until they have attained them." The law fixed a minimum for the salaries of teachers, for the proportion of schools to population, nearly at the same rate as preceding laws, but somewhat more liberally. It provided that in every commune where the clergyman's house had not been already sold for the benefit of the republic, this house should be given up to the schoolmaster for a dwelling and for a school.* It maintained the former programme of instruction, and even amplified it, adding to the course gymnastics, military exercises, and swimming. The revolutionary theory of the "acquirements " indispensable for all men " here reached its fullest efflorescence.

In a year all was changed. On the 25th of October 1795, appeared the most memorable of the revolutionary laws of public instruction, the law (as it is still called) of the 3rd of Brumaire, year IV.† This law, founded on a remarkable report by Daunou, organized the whole of instruction; it embraced primary schools, central schools, special schools, public museums, public libraries, the Institute. For primary schools it established a state of things which endured, with little change, till 1833. But at what a sacrifice! To effect the practical foundation of a very little, the Revolution had to renounce almost all its illusions. Popular education, which had had laws upon laws to itself, was confined, in the law of 1795, to the limits of one short chapter. The "acquirements indispensable for all men" had dwindled to reading, writing, cyphering, and the elements of republican morality. The State, which was once to give everything, was now to give nothing but a school-house. The schoolmaster's salary of from 1,200 to 1,500 francs a year out of the public purse, descended to a salary such as he could extract out of "the " local authorities." The free schooling promised to all scholars came down to a schooling which all but one-fourth of the scholars were to pay for. In compensation the youth of France might attend school or not, as they and their parents pleased. Guarantees for the efficiency of the schoolmaster were still maintained. He was still to be examined by a jury of instruction; the municipal authorities presented him for examination, the departmental authorities nominated him when examined. He was thenceforward under the superintendence of the municipal administration. The concurrence of the jury, the municipality, and the department was necessary for his dismissal. Thus the Convention atoned for its first extravagance. The day after the passing of this law, it separated.‡

"What," I ventured to ask M. Guizot, "did the French revolu- " tion contribute to the cause of popular education?" "*Un déluge* " *de mots*," replied M. Guizot, "*rien de plus*." As regards the material establishment of popular instruction, this is unques-

* This provision was repealed by a decree of August 31st, 1797.

† The first chapter of this law, which alone relates to primary instruction, is printed textually at the end of this report.

‡ On the 26th of October 1795.

tionably true. Yet on its future character and regulation the Revolution, as unquestionably, exercised an influence which every Frenchman takes it for granted that an inquirer understands, and which we in England must not overlook. It established certain conditions under which any future system of popular education must inevitably constitute itself. It made it impossible for any government of France to found a system which was not *lay*, and which was not *national*.

The weak government and the exhausting wars of the Directory left, as is well known, the whole of the internal administration of France in neglect and confusion. Public instruction suffered with everything else. In 1799 Napoleon began the task, his efforts in which have shed such an imperishable glory on the Consulate, and which it would have been well for him never to have forsaken for any task less pacific and less noble; the task, to use his own words, of "founding a new society, "free alike from the injustice of feudalism and from the con-"fusion of anarchy." Of his labours, modern French administration, the Concordat, the public schools for the middle and upper classes, the Legion of Honour, the Code, the University, are monuments. Primary schools did not escape his attention. But the urgent business of the moment was to deal with secondary schools; to rescue the education of the richer classes themselves, those classes in whose hands the immediate destinies of a civilized and regular society are placed, from the state of ruin into which it had fallen. To this the First Consul addressed himself. The law of the 1st of May 1802, founded secondary instruction in France as it at this day exists. For the feeble and decaying central schools of the Convention,*—mere courses of lectures, without hold on their pupils, without discipline, and without study,—the new law substituted the communal colleges and the lyceums, with boarders, with a rigid discipline, and with a sustained course of study; institutions which do not, indeed, give an education equal to that of our best public schools, but which extend to all the middle classes of France an education which our public schools give to our upper classes only. For the exclusively mathematical and scientific course of the revolutionary theorists, it substituted, but with proper enlargement, that bracing classical course which the experience of generations has consecrated, and which Napoleon, though he had not himself undergone it, had the power of mind to appreciate. Finally, by the establishment of 6,400 scholarships, fairly distributed, it opened an access as wide as was possible, or even desirable, to the schools which it created.

Only the first chapter of the law of 1802 related to primary schools. It merely repeated the humble provisions of the last law of the Convention. The commune was to furnish a school

* The law of the 3rd Brumaire, year IV., had decreed one for each department. In 1802 only thirty-two were found to have had any success. These thirty-two were the first *Lycées* under the new law.

house to the teacher, who still, after this was supplied to him; had to depend for his support upon the payments of his scholars. The number of these to be exempted, on the ground of poverty, from the school-fee, was reduced from a fourth to a fifth. The superintendence of the teacher by the municipal authorities was confirmed. Finally, the schools were placed under the supreme charge of the newly created departmental executive, the sub-prefects and the prefects.

Small as was the attention then bestowed on schools for the poor, in comparison with that which, at a later time, they received, it is curious to remark how strongly the inconvenience of their total disorganization was felt in the French provinces, as long ago as at the beginning of this century. It seems as if, rude and illiterate as was the village-school of France before the Revolution, its disappearance could leave a blank as serious as the disappearance of the village-school now. In its endeavour to bring order out of the chaos which the Revolution had left, the consular government invited in 1801 the practical suggestions of the council-general of each department upon the wants of the locality. The councils-general, in their replies, expressed, among other things, the greatest dissatisfaction at the state of the primary schools, and the greatest desire to see it improved. Many of them called for the re-establishment of the religious orders devoted to teaching. "The Brethren of the Christian "Doctrine, the Ursulines, and the rest, are much regretted here," says the council-general of the Côte d'Or. That of the Pas de Calais begs the Government, "again to employ in the instruction "of boys and girls the *Frères ignorantins*, and the Daughters of "Charity, and of Providence." That of the Pyrenées Orientales says, "People here regret the religious associations which busied "themselves in teaching the children of the poor." That of the Aisne asks, like that of the Pas de Calais, for the "reorganization "of the religious communities, devoted to the elementary instruc-"tion of children of each sex." To commit the primary instruction of France to religious corporations was at no time the intention of Napoleon. To avail himself of the services of these corporations, under the control of a lay body, modern in its spirit, and national in its composition, he was abundantly willing. Such a body he designed to establish in his new University.

By a short law of the 10th of May 1806 the University of France was called into existence. "There shall be formed," says the law, "under the name of *Imperial University*, a body with the "exclusive charge of tuition and of public education throughout "the empire. The members of the teaching body shall contract "civil obligations of a special and temporary character." The new University was organized by a decree of the 17th of March 1808. Under a hierarchy of grand-master, councillors, inspectors-general, and rectors, was placed the whole instruction of France. The faculties, the lyceums and communal colleges, the primary schools, were like made subject. "No school, no establishment of "instruction whatsoever, can be formed outside the pale of the

"University, and without the authorization of its chief."* By the imposition of dues on examinations, dues on degrees, dues on the fees paid by boarders and day scholars in grammar-schools, superior and secondary education became tributary to the new power. It was also endowed with a sum of 400,000 francs charged on the State, and with all the property of the old educational bodies of France, which the Revolution had not yet alienated. It became a great civil corporation, with the power of acquiring, inheriting, and transmitting. The Grand-Master and his council represented it in the capital; twenty-six Academies, each governed by its Rector, corresponding in their districts with the ancient Courts of Appeal, represented it in the provinces.

Such was the Imperial University created by Napoleon. The powers which he conferred on it did not, at that period of disorganization and of demand for effective government, appear exorbitant. It had at a later time no fiercer enemies than the clergy; yet in 1808, a bishop writes to the Chancellor of the new University, that he is rejoiced at its establishment; for "educa-" tion," he says, "is at the present day in the hands of the first " comer, and one has the pain of seeing it conducted by men " who have neither acquirements nor principles." Created an endowed corporation, not a mere department of State, it wore a character of independence which all modern governments in France are apt to regard with suspicion, and which Napoleon himself was the last man to confer hastily. His reasons assigned for this unusual distinction are judicious, and even noble. "His Majesty," he says, in his instructions to the University Council at its first formation, "his Majesty has organized the " University as a corporate body, because a corporate body never " dies, and because, in such a body, there is a perpetual trans-" mission of organization and spirit. It has been his Majesty's " desire to realize, in a State of forty millions of people, what " Sparta and Athens accomplished, what the religious orders " attempted in our own day, and failed in accomplishing because " they lacked unity. His Majesty wants a body, whose " teaching may be free from the influence of the passing gusts of " fashion; a body that may keep moving, even though govern-" ment be lethargic; whose administration and statutes may be " made so thoroughly national, that no one shall lightly lay his " hands upon them."

These wishes have not been wholly frustrated. Disliked as a Napoleonist creation by the Bourbons, hated by the clergy, decried by the friends of liberty of instruction, ill-supported by successive ministries incapable of Napoleon's elevation of views, the University of France has been unable to maintain its exclusive privileges and its corporate character. In 1824 it became a ministerial department;† in 1833, its special

* Decree of March 17, 1808, art. 2.

† The Ministry of Public Instruction was created by an ordinance of the 26th of August 1824.

budget was suppressed; in 1850, its property was annexed to the State.* But the Minister of Public Instruction is still, at the same time, Rector of the Academy of Paris, and head of the University; his chief functionaries are functionaries of the University, graduated in its faculties and inspired by its traditions. That transmission of a corporate spirit, which Napoleon wished for, has been accomplished, while the exclusive privileges which the tendencies of the age would not tolerate have been withdrawn; and from this corporate spirit the members of the University derive an independence, a self-respect, and a disinterestedness, which distinguishes them from the whole body of French officials. The University of France has not the attributes of ancient universities; it has neither great estates, nor august associations, nor historic grandeur. But it has attributes, the first to which modern institutions have to aspire, and the possession of which may perhaps compensate for the absence of all others; it has intelligence, and it has equity.

Of the decree organizing the University, only four articles related expressly to primary schools. The first of the four † specifies among the schools of which the twenty-six new Academies were to take charge, the schools for the poor, primary schools, in which are taught reading, writing, and the first notions of arithmetic. These Napoleon, like the authors of the law of 1795, pronounces to be the "elementary acquirements necessary for all men." He naturally omits from his programme the republican morality of the Convention. No special mention is made of religious instruction for the primary schools; but the decree proclaims that the whole teaching of the University is to be based upon the precepts of religion, of loyalty, and of obedience. Another article ‡ directs the University to take care that the persons who give elementary instruction be persons capable of giving it properly. Another § prescribes the formation, in the lyceums and grammar-schools, of normal classes destined to form masters for the primary schools. In these classes are to be taught the "best methods for "bringing to perfection the art of teaching children to read, "write, and cypher." Finally, the decree mentions by name the religious order most concerned in popular education, the Brethren of the Christian Schools. The brethren were to be certificated by the Grand-Master, admitted to take the University oath, and specially encouraged. The Grand-Master was to examine their statutes, and to superintend their schools.

The operation of the law of 1802 had wrought little change in the primary schools. In a statistical report on the Department of Vaucluse, published in 1808 by authority of the prefect, nearly the same picture is drawn of their condition as the council-

* By a vote of the Legislative Assembly, August 22nd, 1850.
† Decree of March 17th, 1808, art. 5.
‡ Art. 107.
§ Art. 108.

general had drawn in 1801. Nearly one-half of the communes are without any school at all. Where schools exist, they are often under the care of teachers now old and infirm; when these teachers are gone, there is no one to take their place. Both the "Ignorantine Friars" and the old village pedagogues are greatly regretted in the country. Napoleon sincerely desired the spread of elementary instruction, although he meant to keep it within strict limits.* In establishing the University, he conceived that he established a body in whose hands the future destinies of popular education rested. The University accepted the charge. Its Grand-Master, M. de Fontanes, a man of letters, and a proficient in that florid declamation which often passes for eloquence, sincerely addressed himself to learn the facts of a system of instruction in which there was nothing academic. He directed his inspectors-general, sent in 1809 into the departments to inspect superior and secondary instruction, to examine, so far as they could, into the state of primary instruction, and to report to him on it. They reported a state of languor, degradation, death. But the establishments of the Congregation of the Christian Schools were beginning to reappear. M. de Fontanes issued a general diploma† to the brethren, authorizing them to hold schools; he revised and approved their statutes; he offered to them pecuniary aid; he exerted himself to rescue them and other teachers from the conscription. He wrote to the bishops and prefects, requesting information about village schools and schoolmasters, to guide him in continuing or dismissing the latter. In one letter, written by him to a prefect in 1809, there is a passage which is valuable as showing how teachers were at that time appointed:—"The "modes in which primary teachers are nominated," he says, "are extremely various; in some cantons they have to be ex- "amined before a jury; in others, the municipal council expresses "its wishes; in others, again, the teacher is empowered to open "school on his mere personal request, accompanied by the consent "of the inhabitants, who enter into no engagement to maintain "him." M. de Fontanes soon became convinced of his want of materials for immediately reconstructing primary education. He tried to use the old materials where he could. By a circular addressed in 1810 to his rectors he desired them to send him lists, for every department, of the existing schools and schoolmasters, specifying those of the latter who, in the opinion of the rector and in that of the local authorities, merited to be confirmed in their office. To these he undertook to send certificates. Meanwhile, he promised, at no distant period, a comprehensive plan of popular education.

The best criticism on the actual performance of the University is to be found in the tables of its expenditure. All that primary

* By a decree of November 15th, 1811, the University was ordered to see that "les "maîtres ne portassent point leur enseignement au-dessus de la lecture, l'écriture, et "l'arithmétique."

† August 4th, 1810. The diploma was delivered to the Superior-General.

instruction, during the Empire, received from the public purse, was a sum of 170*l.** Even this was not contributed from the funds of the University, but from those of the Minister of the Interior. The enemies of the University were in the habit of saying that it did little for primary instruction, because from primary instruction it could draw no revenue. This was unjust. The University had, in truth, no funds and no staff for dealing with popular education. The primary schools were in too suffering a condition to be restored by the occasional efforts of rectors and inspectors-general. The country districts of France, swept by the conscription, were too harassed and exhausted to care whether their schools were suffering or not. In more than one case the University offered funds for the assistance of such schools, and could find no one to receive and administer them. One remarkable effort in the cause of popular education, and one only, dates from the Empire. In 1810 the first Normal school in France for primary teachers was founded at Strasbourg, by a prefect whose intelligent beneficence is still remembered in Alsace—M. Lezay de Marnésia. But the time for educating the French people was not yet come. Napoleon was conscious both that the work remained undone, and that it was indispensable to accomplish it. In decreeing, on the report of Carnot, the establishment of a model school, he expresses his dissatisfaction that the people should be so ill educated, his conviction that it was possible to educate them better.† But this decree dates from the very last days of his power, after his return from Elba, and six weeks before Waterloo.

To the Restoration is due the credit of having first perceived, that, in order to carry on the war with ignorance, the sinews of war were necessary. Other governments had decreed systems for the education of the people; the government of the Restoration decreed funds. An ordinance of the 29th of February 1816 charged the Treasury with an annual grant of 2,000*l.* for the provision of school-books and model schools, and of recompences for deserving teachers. The sum was small; but it was the first. The same ordinance prescribed the formation of cantonal committees, to watch over the discipline, morality, and religious instruction of primary schools. These committees (which were to be unpaid) were to consist of the curé, two local officials of the government, and four notables of the canton to be nominated by the rector to whose Academy the school belonged, and approved by the prefect. Above all, this ordinance instituted a certificate of three

* 4250 fr. See *Le Budget de l'Instruction Publique*, par M. Charles Jourdain; Paris, 1857; p. 175. M. Charles Jourdain (himself distinguished in the world of letters, to which his father rendered a signal service) is at the head of the financial department of the Ministry of Public Instruction. His work is invaluable for all that relates to the finance not only of primary, but also of superior and secondary instruction.

† *Moniteur* of April 30th, 1815. "Considérant l'importance de l'instruction primaire "pour l'amélioration de la société; considérant que les méthodes jusqu'aujourd'hui "usitées en France n'ont pas rempli le but qu'il est possible d'atteindre; désirant porter "cette partie de nos institutions à la hauteur des lumières du siècle," &c.

degrees, to be obtained by examination before the rector's deputy. It made special provision for the independence of Protestant schools. It may truly be said that this ordinance of 1816 presents, in germ, several of the best provisions of the law of 1833.

But in its government of public instruction, as in its government of other public interests, the Restoration was not happy. It laboured under the incurable weakness of being a traditionary monarchy working with revolutionary tools; it was placed as Charles II. would have been placed had he returned to England bound by the Commonwealth laws, instead of the declaration of Breda. The legislation of the English Republic disappeared from the statute-book; that of the French Republic survived to hamper the Restoration. In its treatment of public instruction, as of other questions, the monarchy was perpetually striving to assert its own traditions in face of a legal situation of which it was not master, and perpetually failing. One of its first acts was to strike a blow at the University. A royal ordinance of February the 17th, 1815, announced the intention of taking public instruction out of the hands of an authority "whose absolutism "was incompatible with the paternal intentions and liberal spirit" of the Restoration, and which "reposed on institutions framed "rather to serve the political views of the former government, "than to spread among the people the benefits of a moral and "useful education." Napoleon reappeared, and the University was respited. At its second return, the monarchy, more moderate or more timid, maintained provisionally a system for which it had no substitute ready.* The Grand-Master and Council were replaced by a Commission of Public Instruction;† but the University was left in possession of its dues, its Academies, and its exclusive privileges, of which the ordinance of February had deprived it. The friends of the monarchy urged it to decentralize as much as possible;‡ to foster institutions, which, by their local strength, independent permanence, and conservative spirit, might serve in the country as points of support to the government. M. de Tocqueville has pointed out how, even before the Revolution, it was the constant effort of French government to over-bear such institutions, because all independence was distasteful to it. But, in spite of government, they existed in the ancient France in great numbers. They were the necessary result of the isolation of provinces, the variety of jurisdictions, the multitude of corporations. The humble Institute of the Christian Schools offered to the Restoration an opportunity of reverting to the old order of

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* By an ordinance of August 15th, 1815.

† This commission consisted, at first of five, afterwards of seven members. M. Royer-Collard was its first president.

‡ "En France, aujourd'hui, les lois tendent à la démocratie, et l'administration tend "au despotisme.—Voulez vous ouvrir une école? prenez un diplôme.—L'Université ne "demande qu'une chose aux Frères, c'est de dissoudre leur congrégation, pour devenir "de simples instituteurs primaires dont elle disposera souverainement.—L'Université "s'occupera de vous fournir le savoir, et les tribunaux s'occuperont de vos mœurs."—*Conservateur* of November 1818.

things. The moment this congregation was relieved from the Empire, it attempted to shake off the yoke of the Imperial University. The occasion was the certificate prescribed by the ordinance of 1816, and which the rectors endeavoured to enforce. The Superior-General directed the brethren to refuse to be examined. The individual certificate was calculated, he said, "to "weaken the dependence of the members on their chief, and "to destroy their congregation."* He boldly maintained, in defiance of the revolutionary legislation, that as his community had never ceased to have a legal existence, it ought to continue in the enjoyment of its ancient civil rights. His adversaries retorted that if the corporation of the Christian Schools had not been suppressed by the Revolution, then neither had the most absurd and obsolete corporations, whom to name was to provoke a smile, been suppressed, and they were still legally existing. We in England, with our judicious contempt of logic, should probably have contented ourselves with ignoring the monstrous decree of 1792 when a useful institution was at stake, while we left exploded institutions to its operation. The government of the Restoration thought it convenient to keep the religious societies dependent on it for their existence, but it freely conceded to them exemptions and privileges. That is to say, it denied to these bodies the power of aiding it as independent forces, while it gained for itself the odium of an unjust favouritism. In July 1818, the Commission of Public Instruction decided that the brethren of the Christian Schools should be exempted from examination, and should receive their certificates on presenting their letters of obedience. In 1824,† the Minister of Public Instruction, M. de Frayssinous, remodelled the cantonal committees, so as to give the entire command of the Catholic primary schools to the bishops and clergy. Whether the Restoration was a just or an unjust steward to the French people, it cannot, at any rate, be commended for having done wisely. Without strengthening itself, it managed to offend every liberal sentiment, and to unite against its own existence the most moderate friends of liberty with the most reckless anarchists. It reimposed Latin as the language of college lectures, while it continued to refuse to fathers of families the power of disposing of their property as they pleased. It abandoned the primary schools to the clergy, while it continued to keep the Church the salaried servant of the State.

Yet, in respect to popular education, it showed uniform solicitude and occasional glimpses of liberalism. In 1828,‡ a new Minister of Instruction, M. de Vatimesnil, restored to the cantonal committee its lay element, and to the University its control of the primary schools. He gave, for the first time, to dismissed teachers an appeal from the rector and his aca-

* The Frère Gerbaud to the Minister of the Interior, July 7th, 1818.
† By an ordinance dated April 8th.
‡ By an ordinance dated April 21st.

demic council to the Royal Council of Public Instruction at Paris. He extended the cantonal committee's right of inspection to girls' schools, which an ordinance of the 3rd of April 1820 had subjected to the prefect alone. In 1830 * M. Guernon de Ranville, one of the ministers who signed the fatal ordinances of July, again abrogated this latter provision. The superintendence of girls' schools under Sisters of the religious communities he took away from the cantonal committees, and assigned to the bishops alone. Yet this same M. Guernon de Ranville called† the municipal councils to deliberate on the immediate establishment of a system of communal schools which prefigures the system founded in 1833. In 1829 the State doubled the sum which since 1816 it had annually allotted to primary instruction; in 1830, on the eve of the Revolution, it increased it six-fold.‡ The primary normal schools, of which the Empire had bequeathed but one to the Restoration, were 13 in number in 1830. In more than 20,000 of the communes of France a school of some sort or other was established. Yet the reporter§ of the law of 1833 could say with truth, that the monarchy of July had received popular education in a deplorable state from its predecessor.

In fact, the situation of primary instruction in 1830, far from brilliant as it appeared, was yet externally more specious than internally sound. The ordinance of 1816 imposed on teachers the necessity of being examined and certificated; it thus established the best and only guarantee for the efficiency of that agent on whom a school's whole fortune hangs: but the guarantee was illusory. The Commissioners have seen how the religious corporations were allowed to evade it, by presenting their letters of obedience in lieu of a certificate. There remained the lay teachers. They had to undergo an examination before the rector's delegate. But the rector had at his disposal no proper staff to which to commit such functions. Inspection did not then exist. In nine cases out of ten the rector named as his delegate the curé of the parish for which a schoolmaster was required; the curé named the man of his own choice, with or without examination; and the rector bestowed the certificate which his delegate demanded. Even the legal power of control over the choice of incompetent teachers the University lost in 1824. Catholics themselves confessed the injury which Catholic schools had suffered by the exemption of their teachers from the most salutary of tests.‖ Nor was the communal school in many cases more of a reality than the schoolmaster's certificate. Of the 20,000 communes provided with schools barely one-half possessed, even in 1834, school premises of their own; in the

* Ordinance of January 6th, 1830.
† Ordinance of February 14th, 1830.
‡ The grant in 1829 was 100,000 fr. (4,000*l.*), in 1830 it was 300,000 fr. (12,000*l.*)
§ M. Cousin, in the *Moniteur* of May 22nd, 1833.
‖ Rapport au Roi, by the Duke of Broglie, October 16th, 1830, in the *Bulletin Universitaire*, Vol. ii., p. 174.

other half the school was held in a barn, in a cellar, in a stable, in the church-porch, in the open air, in a room which served at the same time as the sole dwelling-place of the schoolmaster and his family, where his meals were cooked and his children born.* Where school premises existed, they were often no better than their less pretentious substitutes: they were often hovels dilapidated, windowless, fireless, reeking with damp; where, in a space of 12 feet square, 80 children were crowded together; where the ravages of an epidemic swept the school every year.† The state of things reported by the inspectors, nearly 500 in number, whom M. Guizot, at the end of 1833, sent through the length and breadth of France to determine accurately the condition of elementary schools with which the law of 1833 at the outset had to deal, is probably the same state of things which a similar inquest, had the happy thought of making it arisen, would have revealed in every country in Europe when popular instruction first began to be closely scanned. Here the teacher was a petty tradesman, leaving his class every moment to sell tobacco to a customer; there he was a drunkard; in another place he was a cripple. The clergy were often found at war with the schoolmaster; but then the schoolmaster was often such that this state of war was not wonderful. "In what "condition is the moral and religious instruction in your "school?" one of M. Guizot's inspectors asked a schoolmaster. "*Je n'enseigne pas ces bêtises-là*," was the answer. Another inspector found the schoolmaster parading, at the head of his school, the town where he lived; drums beating, the scholars singing the Marseillaise; and the procession halting before the clergyman's house to shout at the top of their lungs, "Down "with the Jesuits!"‡ The apathy of the local authorities, too, was disheartening. "We counted on meeting with gratitude," said the inspectors; "instead of that, we have met, almost every-"where, with resistance." An inspector arrived on a November evening, wet and tired, at a remote commune, to which he brought the promise of a school; he sought out the mayor, on whose hospitality (for there was no inn) he reckoned; instead of hospitality he received from the mayor this greeting:—"You "would have done a great deal better, Sir, if you had brought us money to mend our roads; as for schools, we don't want "them;"—and, late as it was, the unfortunate inspector had to cross a ford, and seek refuge in another village.§

The monarchy of July contained among its chief supporters men who had long revolved the problem of popular education, and who were determined to try to work it out. Brought up in

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* *Tableau de l'Instruction primaire en France*, par M. Lorain; Paris, 1837, p. 3.

† *Tableau de l'Instruction primaire, &c.*, p. 3, 162.

‡ *Tableau de l'Instruction primaire, &c.*, p. 131.

§ *Tableau de l'Instruction primaire, &c.*, p. 15. M. Lorain, distinguished in the service of public instruction in France, was one of the agents employed by M. Guizot in the inspection of 1833; his most interesting book is a summary of the results of the whole inspection.

the nurture of the University and imbued with its spirit, they soon made it manifest that education was to be seriously superintended by an educational authority. An ordinance of October 16th, 1830, had finally destroyed ecclesiastical preponderance in the local committees; an ordinance of April 18th, 1831, did away with all exemptions from the certificate. In the two years from 1831 to 1833 thirty new normal schools were created. An order from the Royal Council of Public Instruction minutely regulated them.* The grant for primary education rose in 1831 to 28,000*l.*, in 1832 to 40,000*l.* Meanwhile a great and comprehensive measure was maturing. It was brought before the Chambers in the spring of 1833. The reporter of the commission which examined it was M. Cousin; the Minister of Public Instruction who proposed it was M. Guizot. It became law on the 28th of June 1833.

III.

This law of 1833, is so important, it is so truly the root of the present system of primary instruction in France, that I have thought it desirable to reprint it in the original at the end of this report. It had the great merit of being full of good sense, full of fruitful ideas, full of toleration, full of equity; but it had the still greater merit of attaining the object which it had in view. It founded in France for the first time a national elementary education. Succeeding legislation has subverted many important provisions of it; but its all-important provisions remain standing. What was previously, to use a French expression, *facultative* to the communes, what the law only recommended to them, and they did or not as they liked, this measure made *obligatory;* and it provided means for the fulfilment of this obligation. I proceed to give a short sketch of it.

The first chapter of the law determined the objects which primary instruction was to embrace. The second and third determined the nature of the schools which were to give this instruction. The fourth and last established the authorities who were to govern it. A fifth chapter had extended to girls' schools the provisions of the law; but it was found premature to deal at that moment with girls' schools; they were first regulated by legislation in 1836.†

The Convention had at first exaggerated what was indispensable in primary instruction; it had afterwards too much reduced it. Napoleon had maintained the reduction. In consequence, a numerous class, needing something more than reading, writing, and arithmetic, but not needing Greek and Latin, was left unprovided for. It remained uneducated, or it was driven

* December 14th, 1832.
† By an ordinance dated June 23rd.

into the communal colleges, where it received an education which it did not want, and which left it unfitted for its position in life. For this class the law of 1833 created a *superior* primary instruction, not properly embracing foreign languages, ancient or modern, but embracing all that constitutes what may be called a good French education. For the immense class below, for the mass of the French people, it established an *elementary* primary instruction.

This instruction, the indispensable minimum of knowledge, the "bare debt of a country towards all its offspring," "sufficient to "make him who receives it a human being, and at the same time "so limited that it may be everywhere realized,"* added something to the scanty programme of 1795 and 1802. In the first place it was religious. "Moral and religious teaching" formed a part of it. It added, besides, the elements of French grammar; and, for a purpose of national convenience, the legal but imperfectly received system of weights and measures.

The Charter had proclaimed liberty of teaching; private schools, therefore, were free to compete with public schools in giving this primary instruction. To establish them there was no longer needed, as heretofore, the authorization of a rector. The only guarantee which the State demanded of them was the possession by the teacher of a certificate of morality, and of a certificate of capacity. Liberty of teaching was thus secured to all competent persons who claimed it. Liberty to incompetence is not an article of faith with French liberalism.

But by far the greatest part of primary instruction must of necessity be given in public schools. "The principle of liberty, "admitted as an only principle, would be," says M. Cousin, "an invincible obstacle to the *universality* of instruction; since "it is precisely the most necessitous districts that private adven- "ture visits least."† Every commune, therefore, either by itself or in conjunction with adjacent communes, was to maintain at least one elementary school.‡ To this school all the indigent children of the commune, no longer a fourth of them or a fifth, but *all*, were to be admitted without fee. These national schools must respect that religious liberty which the nation professed. The wishes of parents were to be ascertained and followed in all that concerned their children's attendance at the religious instruction.§

The elementary schools were to respect religious liberty, and they were to be planted in every commune; but how were they to be planted? Preceding laws had not answered this question, and they had remained a dead letter. The law of 1833 answered

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* *Exposé des Motifs de la Loi du 28 Juin 1833*, by M. Guizot, January 2nd, 1833.

† See M. Cousin's report in the *Moniteur* of May 22nd, 1833. M. Guizot, in his *Exposé des Motifs*, speaks to the same effect; "Les lieux où l'instruction primaire serait le plus "nécessaire sont précisément ceux qui tentent le moins l'industrie."

‡ *Loi sur l'Instruction primaire*, June 28, 1833, art. 9.

§ *Loi sur l'Instruction primaire, &c.*, art. 2.

it thus:—*by a joint action of the commune, the department, and the State.*

If the commune possessed sufficient resources of its own to maintain its elementary school, well and good. Some had foundations, gifts, and legacies, for the maintenance of schools; some had large communal property. In the Vosges, for instance, there are communes possessing great tracts of the beech forests with which those mountains are clothed, whose annual income amounts to several thousand pounds sterling. Where the existing resources of the commune were insufficient, it was to tax itself to an amount not exceeding three centimes in addition to its ordinary direct taxation. If this was insufficient, the department was to tax itself, in order to aid this and similarly placed schools, to an amount not exceeding two centimes in addition to its ordinary direct taxation. If this was still insufficient, the Minister of Public Instruction was to supply the deficiency out of funds annually voted by the Chambers for the support of education.*

A machinery for providing schools was thus established. It remained to provide for these schools proper teachers. A master's house and a fixed salary for him of not less than 8*l.* a year the commune was bound to supply. The residue of his income was to proceed from school fees. The rate of these was to be determined by the municipal council of the commune. They were to be charged for monthly periods, and to be collected, like other public dues, by the ordinary tax-gatherer. A fund for retiring pensions for teachers was to be formed by a yearly drawback on their fixed salaries.† Their maintenance was thus provided for; to provide them with a proper intellectual and moral training every department was bound to furnish a normal school. Certificates of capacity and morality were exacted from them, with precautions to render that of capacity no longer illusory.‡

It remained to appoint the authorities with whom was to rest the supervision of the school. They were two; a parish committee and a district committee; the first supplied by the commune, the second by the arrondissement. In both, the chief authorities of the locality, clerical as well as lay, were members by virtue of their office; but in both there was a decided preponderance of the lay element. These committees were to meet once a month. The immediate inspection and superintendence of the schools rested with the communal committee. But the Chamber of Deputies, more zealous than the Minister for the action of the executive, had refused to this committee all voice in the nomination of the teacher. He was presented by the municipal council, nominated, on this presentation, by the district-

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* *Loi sur l'Instruction primaire, &c.*, art. 13. An ordinance of July 16th, 1833, provided that where a commune or department neglected to provide for charges which the law imposed on them, the amount due should be levied by royal ordinance.

† In consequence of the law of June 9th, 1853, regulating civil pensions, the schoolmaster's pension, like that of all other civil servants in France, is now paid by the Treasury from the general funds of the State.

‡ *Loi sur l'Instruction primaire, &c.*, art. 25.

committee,* instituted by the Minister of Public Instruction. The district-committee not only nominated the teacher, but also dismissed him; he had, however, an appeal to the Minister in Council.

Such was the law of 1833, not more remarkable for the judgment with which it was framed, than for the energy with which it was executed. As if he had foreseen the weak point of his law, the inadequacy of the local authorities to discharge the trust committed to their hands, M. Guizot multiplied his efforts to stimulate and to enlighten them. In successive circulars to prefects, to rectors, to directors of normal schools, to inspectors, he endeavoured to procure the active co-operation of all his agents in the designs of the Government, and to inspire in all of them the zeal with which he himself was animated. On behalf of the elementary schools, he strove to awaken that spirit of local interest and independent activity which he and his friends have never ceased to invoke for their country, and the want of which has, since the Revolution, been the great want of France. He succeeded imperfectly in inspiring his countrymen with a faith in habits of local exertion; and the elementary schools of France have suffered from his want of success. But he succeeded in founding the schools; and he succeeded in inspiring faith in his own zeal for them. In the chamber of the Frère Philippe or of the Père Étienne, as among the Protestant populations of Nismes and of Strasbourg; in the palaces of bishops and in the manses of pastors; in the villages of Brittany and in the villages of the Cevennes;—everywhere I found M. Guizot's name held in honour for the justice and wisdom of his direction of popular education when it was in fashion, for his fidelity to it now that it is no longer talked of. Singular confidence inspired in quarters the most various upon the most delicate of questions! which insincere ability can never conciliate, which even sincere ability cannot always conciliate; only ability united with that heartfelt devotion to a great cause, which friends of the cause instinctively recognize, and warm towards it because they share it.

The results of the law of 1833 were prodigious. The thirteen normal schools of 1830 had grown in 1838 to seventy-six; more than 2,500 students were, in the latter year, under training in them. In the four years from 1834 to 1838, 4,557 public schools, the property of the communes, had been added to the 10,316 which existed in 1834. In 1849, the elementary schools were giving instruction to 3,530,135 children of the two sexes.† In 1851, out of the 37,000 communes of France, 2,500 only were without schools; through the remainder there were distributed primary schools of all kinds, to the number of 61,481.‡ The charge borne by the communes in the support of their schools was nearly 300,000*l.* in 1834, the first year after

* Comité d'arrondissement.
† President's message of June 6th, 1849.
‡ President's message of November 4th, 1851.

the passing of the new law. In 1849 it had risen to nearly 400,000*l.* The charge borne by the departments was in 1835, nearly 111,000*l.*; in 1847, it was more than 180,000*l.* The sum contributed by the State, only 2,000*l.* in 1816, 4,000*l.* in 1829, 40,000*l.* in 1830, had risen in 1847 to 96,000*l.** The great inspection of 1834 had been a special effort. But in 1835, primary inspectors, those "sinews of public instruction," were permanently established, one for each department, by royal ordinance.† In 1847 two inspectors-general and 153 inspectors and sub-inspectors had been already appointed. An ordinance of June the 23rd, 1836, extended to girls' schools, so far as was possible, the provisions of the law of 1833. It did not impose on the communes the obligation of raising funds for their support; but it subjected them all alike to the authority of the communal and district committees,‡ who were to delegate inspectresses to visit them; and it required from their teachers the certificate of capacity. From members of the female religious orders, however, their letters of obedience were still accepted as a substitute for the certificate. Normal schools for the training of lay schoolmistresses were at the same time formed. A year and a half afterwards§ a similar ordinance regulated infant schools, which ever since 1827, when M. Cochin, the benevolent mayor of the twelfth arrondissement of Paris, founded a model infant school in his own district, had attracted interest and found voluntary supporters. The pecuniary aid given by the State to these institutions was small; the first grant, in 1840, a grant which they had to share with girls' schools, was but 2,000*l.*; they multiplied, nevertheless; their number rose from 555 in 1840, to 1,489 in 1843, and to 1,861 in 1848. Primary teachers had been empowered ‖ to establish classes for adults in connexion with their schools. In 1837 there existed 1,856 of these classes, giving instruction to 36,965 working people. In 1843 there were 6,434 of them, with an attendance of 95,064 pupils; in 1848 the classes were 6,877 in number; the pupils, 115,164. Public instruction was not only founded, it was in operation.

Two defects in the system soon became visible. One was in the authorities charged to superintend it. Neither the communal committee nor that of the district performed its functions satisfactorily. The communal or parish committee, composed of the mayor, the clergyman, and one or more principal inhabitants nominated by the district committee, was not disinclined to meddle in the management of the school, but neither its fairness nor its intelligence could be safely trusted. So strongly had this been felt, that the Chamber of Deputies in 1833 had refused to

* *Budget de l'Instruction publique*, pp. 181-2.

† February 26th.

‡ Ever since the ordinance of February 9th, 1830, schools under mistresses who belonged to religious communities had been exempted from all supervision but that of the ecclesiastical authority and the prefect.

§ December 22nd, 1837.

‖ By a *Règlement sur les Classes d'Adultes*, issued by the Royal Council of Public Instruction, March 22nd, 1836.

entrust to this committee the powers which the Minister, in his zeal for local action, had destined for it, and had insisted on giving to the Minister the power of dissolving it on the report of the district committee. The district committee, composed of the principal personages, ecclesiastical and civil, of each sub-prefecture, was generally deficient neither in fairness nor in intelligence; but it was distant, it was hard to set in motion, it was disinclined to decisive measures. In truth, a due supply of zealous and respectable persons, both able and willing to superintend primary schools, is wanting in the country districts of France. It was to form such a class that M. Guizot had framed measures and written circulars; for this, he had solicited prefects and rectors; for this, he had directed every inspector to forego, at first, his right of inspecting schools without notice, to convoke committees and municipalities to meet him, to multiply his communications with them, to invite their confidence and to keep them informed of the views of the government; to make his inspections fully and patiently; not to neglect his rural schools, however humble or however remote, in order that the rural population might itself learn to take interest in its schools, when it saw that "neither "distance, nor hardship of season, nor difficulty of access, pre- "vented the Government from bestowing active care on them."* He had not succeeded. In England such persons exist in almost every locality; the one thing needful is to choose them.

The other defect was in the position of the teachers. The miserable fixed salary of 8*l.* a year, supplemented by the small fees of the scholars, was wholly insufficient for their maintenance. Fully indoctrinated with a sense of the magnitude of their office, they were transferred from the normal school, where their life was one of comfort; they were planted in a village where they were considerable personages, in constant relations with the mayor and the curé, and obliged to keep up a certain appearance; and there they were left to exist on a pittance which just kept them from starvation. Their position was one of cruel suffering, and their discontent was extreme.

The Government determined to relieve them. In 1847 a measure was introduced by M. de Salvandy, then Minister of Instruction, which fixed three classes of teachers and a minimum of salary for each class: for the lowest class, 24*l.* a-year; for the second, 36*l.*; for the highest, 48*l.* In Paris itself the lowest salary of a teacher of the first class was to be 60*l.*

To English schoolmasters in 1860 these salaries will appear despicable; to the French schoolmaster in 1847 they would have been a great boon. But the Revolution of 1848 arrested the measure which promised them. The Revolution, however, had great designs for the primary teachers. They were to be the agents to popularize and consolidate it. The portentous cir-

* See M. Guizot's circular to the inspectors on their appointment, August 13th, 1835, in the *Bulletin Universitaire*, vol. iii. p. 275. The whole circular is well worth reading.

cular* by which M. Carnot exhorted the schoolmasters of France, on the eve of the elections, to use all their influence to promote the return of sincere republicans, and to combat the popular prejudice which preferred the "rich and lettered citizen, a "stranger to the peasant's life, and blinded by interests at "variance with the peasant's interests," to the "honest peasant, "endowed with natural good sense, and whose practical expe- "rience of life was better than all the book-learning in the "world,"—is still in everyone's memory. The schoolmasters of the department of the Seine had not waited for M. Carnot's invitation to open gratuitous evening classes for the instruction of adults in the "rights and duties of citizens." The Minister applauded their zeal. But satisfactions more solid than applause were due to a class from which so much was expected. The grant of the State for primary education rose in the year after the Revolution to 5,920,000 francs. In 1847 it had been but 2,399,808 francs. The whole addition was destined to augment the salaries of primary teachers.

The Revolution fell; and its conquerors did not forget that it had made the schoolmasters its missionaries. A commission was appointed † to report on the state of primary instruction throughout the country, and on the operation of the law of 1833. Upon its report the main law which now governs public instruction in France, the law of March 15th, 1850, was founded. This commission judged the primary teachers very severely. It condemned their training as ill-planned, their teaching as over-ambitious, their conduct to spiritual and temporal authorities as disrespectful.‡ A disclosure which took place about this time in the Nièvre, one of the most ignorant and backward departments of France, shook esteem for their morality. Every voice was raised for a repression of their pretensions, and a strict control of their conduct. The religious congregations devoted to teaching were visited by a great increase of public favour. The heads of the principal communities of each sex, the Superior-General of the Brethren of the Christian Schools, the Superior-General of the Lazarists, were examined before the commission as to the operations and wishes of their societies. They were consulted as to the requirement from teachers belonging to religious orders of the certificate of capacity. For reasons which speak with equal eloquence for his own serenity of judgment and for the usefulness of the certificate-test, the Frère Philippe desired for the brethren its continuance. For reasons which prevailed with the commission, which he did me the honour to repeat to

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* March 9th, 1848.

† When M. de Falloux became Minister of Public Instruction, December 10th, 1848. The commission which reported on primary instruction was a sub-commission of that which, under the presidency of M. Thiers, inquired into the whole public education of France.

‡ *Rapport fait au nom de la Sous-Commission chargée par M. le Ministre de l'Instruction publique de préparer un Projet de Loi sur l'Instruction primaire*; Paris, April 1849, pp. 2, 6, 8, 10, 18, 20.

me, and which seem to me full of weight, the Père Etienne deprecated for the sisterhoods its imposition. One of the most eminent liberals in France told me, that for his part, ever since 1848, he had wished to confide the whole primary instruction of the country to the religious communities. It was declared that the public morals were proved by the statistics of crime not to have improved since the law of 1833, but on the contrary, to have deteriorated,* and that recourse must be had to religion to cure a state of disorder which mere instruction had perhaps aggravated, certainly not corrected. Sentences of suspension and dismissal were launched by the prefects right and left against the lay primary teachers. But the misdeeds of these functionaries were extravagantly exaggerated. The alarm and irritation of the revolutionary year made their accusers intemperate and unjust. In every quarter of France which I visited, rectors and inspectors united to assure me that grounds for serious complaint against the lay teachers had been very scarce indeed; that the foolish profession of strong republican opinions (to which, for the rest, the circular of the Minister directly called them) had been the sole fault of the great majority of those who offended; that it was astonishing that a class, so poor and so stimulated, should have, on the whole, behaved so well. On dispassionate inquiry, made at the instance of the University functionaries, a great number of teachers who had been summarily dismissed were reinstated. The loud complaints against their over-training and against the normal schools gradually died away, and a few years afterwards the government itself proclaimed how unjust had been the imputations against these latter. "For a time," says the Minister, M. Fortoul, in 1854, "people may have made the normal schools "responsible for the faults of a few young men whose errors "were caused far more by the culpable promptings addressed to "them than by the education received in these schools; but on "all sides people are now beginning to appreciate them more "justly." Under the hostile impressions of 1849, however, the law of March the 15th, 1850, was conceived and promulgated.

IV.

This law, with the organic decree of March the 9th, 1852, and the law of June the 14th, 1854, forms the body of legislation now actually in force in France on the subject of public instruction. The design of the two last-named acts is to complete and to make more stringent the main law of 1850.

The new legislation swept away much of the law of 1833. It changed the authorities in whom the control of primary instruction was vested. It abolished the communal committee and the

* *Rapport fait au nom de la Sous-Commission, &c.*, p. 8. But on this question of the increase of crime, see the interesting criminal statistics at the end of this report.

district-committee. In the bodies which it substituted it eradicated the elective principle. It gave to the mayor and the minister of religion in every commune the supervision and moral direction of primary instruction.* The old committees were replaced, as to some of their functions, by delegates from each canton. The canton is a division larger than the commune, smaller than the arrondissement. But these cantonal delegates are the nominees of the departmental council. They inspect the primary schools of their canton; but their powers only enable them to address representations on the results of their inspection to the departmental council or the inspector, and they have no real authority over the schools or teachers. The departmental council meets twice a month at the chief town of the department. It consists of thirteen members, presided over by the prefect. At first a majority of the members proceeded from election. At present every member, except the prefect, the procureur-général, the bishop, and an ecclesiastical nominee of the bishop, who sit of right, is nominated by the Minister. This council has very extensive powers. It nominates the cantonal delegates and the commissions charged with the examination for certificates. It has the regulation of the public primary schools, fixes the rate of school-fees to be paid in them, draws up the list of teachers admissible to the office of communal teacher in the department, is the judge of teachers in matters of discipline, can even interdict them for ever from the exercise of their profession, subject to an appeal to the Imperial Council of Public Instruction in Paris. It can refuse to any teacher, without right of appeal,† that permission to open a private primary school which the law of 1833 accorded to all teachers provided with certificates of morality and capacity. But it cannot nominate, suspend, or dismiss a teacher. This power, after some fluctuation, has been confided to the promptest, the sternest, the strongest of public functionaries—the functionary on whose firm hand the Chamber of Deputies in 1833, in its zeal for a more stringent control of public instruction, had in vain cast longing eyes—the prefect. Even the ministerial institution is no longer necessary for the teacher. The prefect names, changes, reprimands, suspends, and dismisses all public primary teachers of every grade.‡ To interdict them absolutely and for ever from the exercise of their profession is alone beyond his power. It has even been decided that a clause in the decree of 1852,§ giving to municipal councils the right to be heard respecting the nomination of their communal teacher, means merely that they are at liberty to inform the prefect whether they prefer a layman or a member of a religious association.

But the Prefect exercises his authority "on the report of the "Academy-Inspector."

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* Law of March 15, 1850, art. 44.
† Law of March 15, 1850, art. 28.
‡ Law of June 14, 1854, art. 8.
§ Art. 4.

This introduces us to a new wheel in the machinery of French public instruction. The Academies of France, the constituent members of the University, have been at different times twenty-six, twenty-seven, and eighty-six in number. They are now but sixteen. Each Academy has a district embracing several departments. The rectors of Academies, who under the first Empire and the Restoration were the rulers of primary instruction, have now in their charge only its normal schools, and in elementary schools the methods of teaching and course of study. But attached to every rector, for each of the departments composing his district, is a functionary called an Academy-inspector. * This official's chief concern is with secondary instruction, but he has also the general supervision of primary instruction; it is to him that the primary inspector makes his reports, and by his representations the prefect, in dealing with the primary teachers, is mainly guided.

One other authority remains to be noticed. It is the Imperial Council of Public Instruction. This council is the latest development of the Council of the University, of the Commission, Council Royal, and Superior Council of Public Instruction. Its composition has undergone many changes. The Minister has always presided at it; but of its members the majority were formerly chosen by the great ecclesiastical, judicial, or learned bodies whom they respectively represented, and it had a permanent section composed of members named for life. Every member is now named by the Emperor; the permanent section is abolished, and members are appointed for one year only. Before this council the Minister, if he thinks fit, brings for discussion projected laws and decrees on public education. He is bound to consult it respecting the programmes of study, methods, and books, to be adopted in public schools. To watch in the provinces over the due observance of its regulations on these matters, is the business of the rectors and their academic councils. Finally, the Imperial Council has to hear and judge the appeals of teachers on whom departmental councils have laid their interdict.

Thus the French public teacher, in place of the general supervision of the communal council, in which the prepossessions of one member often neutralized those of another, is now put under the individual supervision of two persons, the mayor and the curé. These watch over the morality and religion of his school; the cantonal delegates watch over its instruction. Above these, in place of the easy district committee, armed with power indeed to reprimand, suspend, or dismiss him, but slow to exercise this power, and liable to have its extreme sentence, that of dismissal, reversed by an appeal to a higher authority,† he has the ever-

* Inspecteur d'académie.

† The Minister in Council Royal. *Loi sur l'Instruction primaire*, 28 Juin 1833, art. 23.

wakeful executive, the prefect himself, armed with powers which he is prepared to use, and against which there is no appeal. Finally, his scholastic career may be closed altogether by the departmental council.*

But the new legislation, though thus tightening the reins of control for the teacher, could not possibly leave his salary unimproved. His pecuniary condition was so lamentable as to call pity even from his enemies; many thought, indeed, that to the misery of this condition were due nearly all the faults which had made enemies for him. The fixed salary of 8*l.* a year was retained; but it was provided that where the school-fees added to this did not make up an income of 24*l.* a year, what was wanted to complete this sum should be paid by the public. This was, in fact, to increase the charges of the State; for no additional taxation was imposed on the commune or the department. With so vast an army of public teachers, to increase the pittance of each even a little was formidably expensive. A new law† provided a class of "supplying teachers," *instituteurs suppléants*, less costly than the regular communal teacher. In future no one could be appointed communal teacher who had not served for three years since his twenty-first year as an assistant (*adjoint*) or as a supplying teacher. The same decree permitted public mixed schools, where the scholars were not more than forty in number, to be placed under the charge of women, whose salary was to be that of supplying masters. These new teachers were divided into two classes; the minimum of salary for the first was fixed at 20*l.* a year, for the second at 16*l.* a year. They were only to be employed in communes where the number of inhabitants did not exceed 500, or temporarily to fill vacancies in larger places. But on one pretence or other, large as well as small communes in considerable numbers soon managed to confide their schools to these cheaper teachers. The sufferings which the law of 1850 had sought to alleviate reappeared. By a decree‡ due to the present Minister of Public Instruction, M. Rouland, the lower class of *suppléants* was abolished, and there is now but one class of supplying teachers, and one minimum of salary for them, 20*l.*

This is grievously insufficient; but it must not be supposed that all the public schools of France are starving their teachers on 20*l.* or 24*l.* a year. These are *minima* of salary, frequently exceeded by the free will of communes, and for which no good and experienced teacher can be obtained. The law permits a commune, if it pleases, to establish schools entirely gratuitous; only it must support these schools out of its own resources. In all the principal towns of France this is done, as there is not one communal school in Paris, for instance, in which a

* But with appeal to the Imperial Council. See above.
† Decree of December 31st, 1853.
‡ Decree of July 20th, 1858.

scholar pays anything. The teachers of these schools have therefore no school-fees to trust to; but they receive from the municipality salaries far exceeding the bare legal rate; salaries which, though not equal to those of similar teachers in England or Holland, are sufficient to maintain them in comfort. It is in the villages and hamlets of France, that the privations of underpaid schoolmasters are to be witnessed.

The new legislation has thus altered the law of 1833 in all which concerns the supervision of primary schools. It has attempted, not very successfully, to amend the pecuniary situation which M. Guizot's law created for the primary teacher. But the grand and fruitful provision of M. Guizot's law, the money clause, the happy distribution of the cost of public schools between the commune, the department, and the State, victoriously endured the test of hostile criticism. It remained unassailed and unassailable, modified only in an insignificant point of detail.

Another important provision of M. Guizot's law remained untouched; that which guaranteed religious liberty in public schools. It is the happiness of France, indeed, that this liberty is so firmly established, that no legislation is likely to try to shake it. Among the many interesting instructions written by M. Guizot between 1833 and 1837, none are more interesting than those which relate to this vital question. The text of the law of 1833, and the tolerant disposition of M. Guizot himself, tended to make denominational schools, as we should call them, the exception, and common schools the rule. "In certain cases," says the law,* "the Minister of Public Instruction may authorize as communal "schools, schools more particularly appropriated to one of the re-"ligious denominations recognized by the State." "It is in general "desirable," writes M. Guizot,† "that children, whose families "do not profess the same creed, should early contract, by frequent-"ing the same schools, those habits of reciprocal friendship and "natural tolerance which may ripen later, when they live together "as grown-up citizens, into justice and harmony." But the dangers to which religious liberty was sometimes exposed in these common schools did not escape him. He wished the religious instruction to be, above all things, real; not "a series of lessons "and practices apparently capable of being used by all denomina-"tions in common."‡ Such vague abstractions, he said, "satisfied "the requirements neither of parents nor of the law; they tended "to banish all positive and efficacious religious teaching from the "schools." But, the more the religion of the majority is taught positively and really in a school, the more it becomes necessary to guard the liberty of the minority. There is danger either that the minority will be made to participate in the religious instruc-

* *Loi sur l'Instruction primaire*, 28 Juin 1833, art. 9.

† In a circular to the prefects, July 24th, 1833. See *Bulletin Universitaire*, iii. 293.

‡ See his excellent circular to the rectors, November 12th, 1835. *Bulletin Universitaire*, iv. 382.

tion of the majority, or else that its own religious instruction will be left uncared for. Against both dangers M. Guizot endeavoured to provide. Rectors were charged to see that in public schools no child of a different religious profession from that of the majority was constrained to take part in the religious teaching and observances of his fellow scholars. They were to permit and to request the parents of such children to cause them to receive suitable religious instruction from a minister of their own communion, or from a layman regularly appointed for the purpose. They were to take care that in every week, at fixed hours to be agreed upon between the minister of religion, the parents, and the local committee, such children were conducted from the school to the Protestant temple, or any other edifice frequented by members of their communion, there to take part in the lessons and practices of the faith in which they had been brought up. Inspectors and local committees were strictly enjoined to see these regulations observed. Similar provision was made for religious instruction and religious freedom in the normal schools. Finally, where the minority had cause to desire a school to itself, and reasonable numbers to fill it, the authorities were to be very heedful that its demand was not unjustly refused by the municipal councils.

The event proved that religious instruction in common schools presented grave practical difficulties. The new law profited by the lessons of experience. Under the dominion of the new law denominational schools are the rule, common schools are the exception. In those communes where more than one of the forms of worship recognized by the State is publicly professed, each form is to have its separate school.* But the departmental council has power to authorize the union, in a common school, of children belonging to different communions.† Of children thus united, however, the religious liberty is sedulously guarded. It is provided that ministers of each communion shall have free and equal access to the school, at separate times, in order to watch over the religious instruction of members of their own flock.‡ Where the school is appropriated to one denomination, no child of another denomination is admitted except at the express demand of his parents or guardians, signified in writing to the teacher. Of such demands the teacher is bound to keep a register, to be produced to all the school authorities. I confidently affirm, in contradiction to much ignorant assertion, that the liberty thus proclaimed by the law is maintained in practice. The venerable chiefs of the principal Protestant communities of the French provinces, —the president of the Consistory of Nismes, the president of the Consistory of Strasbourg,—individually assured me, that

* *Loi du* 15 Mars 1850, art. 36.
† *Loi du* 15 Mars 1850, art. 15.
‡ *Loi du* 15 Mars 1850, art. 44; *Décret du* 7 Octobre 1850, art. 11.

as regarded the treatment of their schools by the authorities, they had nothing whatever to complain of; that Protestant schools came into collision with the authorities no otherwise than as Catholic schools came; that such collision, when it happened, was, in nine cases out of ten, on matters wholly unconnected with religion. In Languedoc, indeed, the embers of religious animosities still smoulder; but it is among the lower orders of the population. It is not that the State persecutes the Protestants; it is that the Protestant and Catholic mobs have still sometimes the impulse to persecute each other, and that the State has hard work to keep the peace between them.

The law of 1833 had proclaimed the right of all indigent children to free instruction. Many who were not indigent had usurped this boon designed only for the poor. The law of 1850, to prevent this abuse, directed the mayor and the ministers of religion to draw up yearly, for each commune, a list of children having a real claim to the privilege; but it was soon found that the mayor and the ministers were far too easy. In fact, the moment a commune had levied its three centimes, all motive for economy on the part of the communal authorities ceased; all further school expenses must be at the charge of the department or the State. At the expense of the department and the State, therefore, the parish authorities freely enlarged their list of claimants for free schooling. As a last resource, the never-failing prefect* has been charged to determine annually, for every public school of his department, the highest number of free scholars to be admitted into that school; the free admissions granted by the mayor and his colleagues must in no case exceed this number. Nor can any free scholar be admitted into a communal school unless he brings with him a ticket for free admission granted by the mayor; this last provision applies even to schools entirely gratuitous.

Finally, the law of 1833 had attempted to establish for the benefit of the lower middling classes of France a superior grade of primary instruction, which, without assuming a classical and scientific character, might yet carry its recipients much beyond the instruction of the elementary schools. It had imposed upon every urban commune, which either was the chief town of a department, or contained more than 6,000 inhabitants, the obligation of establishing, besides its elementary schools, a "superior primary school."† It had instituted two grades of certificates, corresponding to the two grades of instruction. M. Guizot desired‡ that "as there was to be no commune without its primary "school, and no department without its normal school, so there "might be no town of 8,000 or 10,000 inhabitants without its

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* *Décret du* 31 Décembre 1853, art. 13.

† *Loi sur l'Instruction primaire*, 28 Juin 1833, art. 10.

‡ See his circular to the rectors on his appointment, October 17th, 1832; *Bulletin Universitaire*, iii. 99.

"'middle school' to crown the edifice of public instruction, and "to stop only where the learned studies of classical schools "commence." He provided that in these middle schools a certain number of free admissions should be reserved for the best scholars of the elementary school, to be presented, after a competitive examination, by the communal committee.* The design seemed admirable, yet it had not well succeeded. Not that the obligation of the law was eluded: in 1843, out of 290 communes bound to establish superior primary schools, 222 possessed them; 103 communes, not bound to provide such schools, had voluntarily established them; but they did not much attract the population. In 1837, the average attendance of scholars in the whole number of superior primary schools, public and private, then existing in France, did not exceed twenty-eight in each.† The lower class of the population remained satisfied with the primary schools; the class above them continued, where the primary schools did not satisfy it, to struggle into the communal colleges.

My limits forbid me to do more than touch on this great subject of secondary instruction; yet to touch on it for one moment in passing I cannot forbear. I saw something of it; I inquired much about it; had I not done so, I should have comprehended the subject of French primary instruction very imperfectly. Let me, then, be permitted to call attention to the advantage France possesses in its vast system of public secondary instruction; in its 63 lyceums and 244 communal colleges, inspected by the State, aided by the State‡, drawing from this connexion with the State both efficiency and dignity; and to which, in concert with the State, the departments, the communes, private benevolence, all co-operate to provide free admission for poor and deserving scholars. M. de Talleyrand truly said that the education of the great English public schools was the best in the world. He added, to be sure, that even this was detestable. But allowing it all its merits, how small a portion of the population does it embrace! It embraces the aristocratic class; it embraces the higher professional class; it embraces a few of the richest and most successful of the commercial class; of the great body of the commercial class and of the immense middle classes of this country, it embraces not one. They are left to an education which, though among its professors are many excellent and honourable men, is deplorable. Our middle classes are nearly the worst educated in the world. But it is not this only; although when I consider this, all the French common-places about the duty of the State to protect its children from the charlatanism and cupidity of individual speculation, seem to me

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* *Loi sur l'Instruction primaire*, 28 Juin 1833, art. 14.

† *Manuel legislatif et administratif de l'Instruction primaire*, par M. Kilian, chef de bureau au Ministère de l'Instruction Publique; Paris, 1838-39, p. 116.

‡ In 1855 the grant from the State to the lyceums was 1,300,000 fr.; to the communal colleges, 98,080 fr. 86 c.—*Budget de l'Instruction publique*, pp. 164, 167.

to be justified. It is far more that a great opportunity is missed of fusing all the upper and middle classes into one powerful whole, elevating and refining the middle classes by the contact, and stimulating the upper. In France this is what the system of public education effects; it effaces between the middle and upper classes the sense of social alienation; it raises the middle without dragging down the upper; it gives to the boy of the middle class the studies, the superior teaching, the proud sense of belonging to a great school which the Eton or Harrow boy has with us; it tends to give to the middle classes precisely what they most want, and their want of which is the great gulf between them and the upper; it tends to give them personal dignity. The power of such an education is seen in what it has done for the professional classes in England. The clergy and barristers, who are generally educated in the great public schools, are nearly identified in thought, feeling, and manners with the aristocratic class. They have not been unmixed gainers by this identification; it has too much isolated them from a class to which by income and social position they, after all, naturally belong; while towards the highest class it has made them, not vulgarly servile certainly, but intellectually too deferential—too little apt to maintain perfect mental independence on questions where the prepossessions of that class are concerned. Nevertheless, they have, as a class, acquired the unspeakable benefit of that elevation of the mind and feelings which it is the best office of superior education to confer. But they have bought this elevation at an immense money-price—at a price which they can no better than the commercial classes afford to pay; which they who have paid it long, and who know what it has bought for them, will continue to pay while they must, but which the middle classes will never even begin to pay. When I told the French University authorities of the amount paid for a boy's education at the great English schools, and paid often out of very moderate incomes, they exclaimed with one voice that to demand such sacrifices of French parents would be vain. It would be equally vain to demand them of the English middle classes. Either their education must remain what it is, vulgar and unsound; or the State must create by its authorization, its aid,—above all, by its inspection,—institutions honourable because of their public character, and cheap because nationally frequented, in which they may receive a better. If the former happens, then this great English middle class, growing wealthier, more powerful, more stirring every year, will every year grow more and more isolated in sentiment from the professional and aristocratic classes. If the latter, then not only will the whole richer part of our rich community be united by the strong bond of a common culture, but the establishment of a national system of instruction for the poorer part of the community will have been rendered infinitely easier. In fact, the French middle classes may well submit to be taxed for the

education of the poor, for the State has already provided for their own. But you must be well aware that already there are loud complaints among the lower middling classes of this country that the Committee of Council is providing the poor with better schools than those to which they themselves have access; and they may be very sure that any new measure which proposes to do much for the instruction of the poor, and nothing for that of the middling classes, will meet with discontent and opposition from the latter. It is impossible to overrate the magnitude of this question. English superior instruction is perhaps intelligent enough to be left to take care of itself. Oxford and Cambridge are popularising themselves: with little noise and in the shade, the London University is performing a work of great national benefit. At any rate, superior instruction is but the efflorescence and luxury of education; it is comparatively of limited importance. Secondary instruction, on the other hand, is of the widest importance; and it is neither organized enough nor intelligent enough to take care of itself. You would excite, I am convinced, in thousands of hearts a gratitude of which you little dream, if in presenting the result of your labours on primary instruction, you were at the same time to say to the Government,—"Regard the necessities of "a not distant future, and *organize your secondary instruction.*"

The new French legislation recognized the visible fact that the superior primary school was an unprosperous invention. With much good result, with some inconveniences, the communal colleges continued to attract those for whom M. Guizot had destined his middle schools. These schools, therefore, are no longer maintained. But the new law retains the old programme of superior primary instruction, and has introduced it into the elementary schools,* where the instruction certainly needed raising. This superior programme, however, is but *facultative* in the primary schools, and the old elementary programme is alone obligatory. But any commune may, with the authorization of the departmental council, insist that the whole or part of the *facultative matters*, as they are called, shall be taught in its school.†

For girls' schools the new legislation continued the provisions of 1836 nearly unchanged. For girls the two grades of primary instruction were still maintained, because for girls there was no secondary instruction, like that of the communal colleges, to compete with the superior primary school.‡ All public schools for girls, whether kept by lay teachers or by Sisters of some reli-

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* *Loi du* 15 Mars 1850, art. 23.

† *Loi du* 15 Mars 1850, art. 36. The *matières facultatives* are as follows:—L'arithmétique appliquée aux opérations pratiques; les éléments de l'histoire et de la géographie; des notions des sciences physiques et de l'histoire naturelle applicables aux usages de la vie; des instructions élémentaires sur l'agriculture, l'industrie, et l'hygiène; l'arpentage, le nivellement, le dessin linéaire; le chant, et la gymnastique.

‡ Called by the new law *école de premier ordre*, not *école primaire supérieure.—Décret du* 31 Décembre 1853, art. 6.

gious order, and all private schools, not being boarding schools, were subjected to the supervision of the authorities charged with that of boys' schools. Lay boarding-schools are inspected by ladies delegated by the prefect; boarding-schools belonging to religious associations by ecclesiastics nominated, on the presentation of the bishop of the diocese, by the Minister of Public Instruction. The certificate of capacity must, as before, be obtained by lay schoolmistresses; and, for the Sisters, their letters of obedience still suffice. Such, in its main provisions, is the legislation by which primary instruction in France is at this moment regulated.

V.

You will desire to know what result is produced by this legislation. I will endeavour to show to you both the material and the moral result produced. The material result, in money raised, schools founded, scholars under instruction; the moral result, in the quality of the instruction, the proficiency of the scholars, the effect, so far as that can be ascertained, on the nation. I begin with the former.

The task is not easy. For the last eight years no report on the state of primary instruction has been published by the French Government. In the financial report yearly issued by the Department of Public Instruction, the sums raised for primary schools by their most important contributor, the communes, are not returned. Vast preparations were made in 1858 for a detailed report, to be accompanied by full statistics. At the last moment the Government recoiled before the expense of its publication. The invaluable materials collected for it, and still lying in the archives of the Ministry of Public Instruction, I have had, thanks to M. Magin's kindness, an opportunity of examining. But I owe to M. Rapet the following statistics for the years 1856 and 1857, compiled with great labour from the original returns, many of which are unpublished, and supplying information which no printed official documents contain.* The returns relating to the number of schools and scholars are given in round numbers. I should premise that schools belonging to religious associations are designated by the title of Congreganist Schools—*Ecoles Congréganistes.*

Total number of primary schools existing in France in 1857	65,100
Number of boys', or mixed schools - - -	39,600
„ girls' schools - - - -	25,500
	65,100

* But see also tables I., II., III., and IV., at the end of this Report

These numbers are divided as follows :—

Public boys' schools - - -	36,200		
Private boys' schools - - -	3,400		
			39,600
Public girls' schools - - -	13,900		
Private girls' schools - - -	11,600		
			25,500
			65,100

Among the 39,600 public boys' schools, 17,000 are mixed, that is, they admit girls as well as boys. The number of mixed schools tends continually to diminish, by the creation of separate schools for girls. Although M. Cousin, in his report* of 1833, calls the objection to mixed schools a "wide spread error which "makes female education on a great scale an almost insoluble "problem;" and directs against it the whole weight of his authority, the objection has not ceased to gain strength, and is at the present day, in France, almost universal. Upon no point, I am bound to say, have I found all those connected with education in that country more unanimous. In Holland, on the other hand, there prevails an equal unanimity in favour of mixed schools.

Of the 17,000 mixed schools of France, 2,250 are taught by women, of whom the greater number belongs to religious orders. The remaining mixed schools are under male teachers.

Dividing the primary schools of France according to the lay or ecclesiastical character of their teachers, we have the following numbers :—

Public lay boys' schools - -	34,100		
„ Congreganist „ - -	2,100		
		36,200	
Private lay boys' schools - -	2,900		
„ Congreganist „ - -	500		
		3,400	
			39,600
Public lay girls' schools - -	4,700		
„ Congreganist „ - -	9,200		
		13,900	
Private lay girls' schools - -	3,200		
„ Congreganist „ - -	8,400		
		11,600	
			25,500
			65,100

* *Moniteur*, May 22nd, 1833.

The number of children under instruction in these schools is 3,850,000, divided as follows:—

Boys, in boys' or mixed schools	2,150,000
Girls, in girls' schools	1,450,000
Girls, in mixed schools	250,000
	3,850,000

Of these children 2,600,000 paid for their schooling; 1,250,000 were free scholars.

I now come to the chapter of expense.

The total expense of primary instruction in France for the year 1856, was 42,506,012 f. 46 c. This is in round numbers 1,700,000*l.*

The items of this expenditure are in part *ordinary* and *obligatory* (as they are called), recurring every year; in part *extraordinary* and *facultative.*

	f.	*c.*
Total ordinary and obligatory expenditure	29,202,243	52
„ extraordinary and facultative „	12,581,591	61
„ cost of inspection	722,177	33
	42,506,012	46

Certain obligatory charges the law regards as belonging properly to the commune, and the families which compose the commune; others as belonging to the department; others, to the State.

OBLIGATORY CHARGES properly belonging to the Communes and Families.

	f.	*c.*	*f.*	*c.*
Teachers' salaries	26,197,503	53		
Rent of school-houses	1,488,307	51		
Printing forms for the collection of the school-fee	107,741	30		
			27,793,552	34

OBLIGATORY CHARGES properly belonging to the Department and State.

	f.	*c.*	*f.*	*c.*
Ordinary expenses of normal schools	1,360,155	87		
Expenses of examination-commissions, and central delegates	48,535	31		
Inspection (paid by the State)	722,177	33		
			2,130,868	51
			29,924,420	85

The total obligatory expenditure, therefore, for the year 1856, amounted in round numbers to 1,197,000*l.*

The *facultative* or optional expenditure is shared as follows :—

CHARGES borne by the Communes.

	f.	*f.*	*c.*
Maintenance of girls' schools and infants' schools (not obligatory by law)	4,600,000		
Building, purchasing and repairing school-houses	3,800,000		
Expenses for classes of adults, books, and rewards	1,500,000		
		9,900,000,	00

CHARGES borne by the Department and State.

	f.	*c.*	*f.*	*c.*
Normal schools for young women, and extraordinary expenses for normal schools	391,321	85		
Grants to communes for the erection, purchase, and repair of school-houses and fittings	961,412	42		
Books for poor scholars	32,444	53		
Special grants for girls' instruction	319,919	57		
Grants for classes of adults and apprentices	68,486	25		
Grants for infants' schools and needlework	472,620	74		
Rewards and relief to teachers	206,613	36		
Grants to private schools and charitable establishments	61,369	0		
Printing and sundries	167,209	89		
			2,681,397	61
			12,581,397	61

Making in the year 1856, a total extraordinary expenditure, in round numbers, of 503,000*l.* The items of this expenditure vary from year to year, but its general amount remains much the same.

To meet this expenditure, the following sums were received :—

	f.	*c.*	*f.*	*c.*
From donations and legacies			184,320	86
From families :—				
By fees paid by scholars			9,900,000	56
By payments made by normal school students for board, &c.			513,327	38
From communes :—	*f.*	*c.*		
By obligatory school-taxation	11,955,063	15		
By voluntary school-taxation	9,900,000	0		
			21,855,063	15
From departments :—				
For ordinary expenses	4,101,213	55		
For extraordinary expenses	1,171,916	59		
			5,273,130	14
From the State :—				
For ordinary expenses	3,660,093	40		
For extraordinary expenses	1,509,844	52		
			5,169,937	92
			42,297,332	01

So that the amount received nearly equalled the amount expended.

It appears from the above figures that had the communes borne the full ordinary expenses of their schools, as well as the extraordinary expenses actually contributed by them, they would have had to find a sum of, in round numbers, 1,507,740*l.* They actually bore a charge of 874,200*l.*; but of this they were legally bound to bear but 478,200*l.* They voluntarily undertook a burden of 396,000*l.* Families and private persons contributed, in school-fees, board, and donations, about 423,900*l.* The departments bore a charge of 210,920*l.*; of this, the obligations of the law imposed on them 164,040*l.*; they voluntarily taxed themselves for 46,880*l.* Finally, the State directly contributed about 206,800*l.*, nearly the same amount as the departments: to defray regular charges which it had undertaken to make good it paid 146,400*l.*; it granted for the additional expenses which have been detailed, 60,400*l.*

The expenses of primary instruction above enumerated do not include the expense of the central administration in Paris. This, for 1856, was 659,048 fr. 57 c.; * in round numbers, 26,360*l.* Not more than one-third of this charge, which embraces the services of superior, secondary, and primary instruction, belongs to primary instruction. We must add the salaries of four inspectors-general at 8,000 fr. each, 32,000 fr. (1,280*l.*), and their travelling allowances 10,000 fr. (400*l.*) This will give a total of, in round numbers, 10,470*l.* to be added to the general expense of primary instruction in 1856. The general total will then, instead of 1,700,000*l.*, become 1,710,470*l.*; less than one million and three-quarters sterling.†

Public primary instruction in France, then, cost in the year 1856 about 1,710,000*l.*; of this, parish taxation (as we should say) contributed somewhat less than nine seventeenths; county taxation about two seventeenths; the consolidated fund about two seventeenths; and school-fees and private benevolence somewhat more than four seventeenths. Taxation, obligatory and voluntary, produced altogether nearly 1,295,000*l.*; that is to say, it produced more than three-fourths of the whole amount expended.

What will, I think, most strike you in considering these figures will be this, the immense number of schools maintained in proportion to the money spent. France possessed, in 1856, 65,100 primary schools. Of this number all but 15,000 were, not *aided*, but *maintained*, out of an expenditure of less than one million and three quarters sterling; the 15,000 private schools received amongst them some assistance out of it; but the 50,100 public schools were, I repeat, *maintained*. Nor

* Thus divided:—*Personnel*, 472,237 fr. 50 c.; *Matériel*, 180,711 fr. 11 c.; *Indemnités à des employés supprimés*, 6,099 fr. 96 c. See the *Compte définitif des Dépenses de l'Exercice* 1856 (*Service de l'Instruction publique*); Paris, 1858.

† The services of rectors and Academy inspectors (taking, under the head of *Administration académique*, a sum of 817,523 fr. 32 c. in the estimates of 1856) are in part given to primary instruction: but, as these functionaries strictly belong to superior and secondary instruction, I charge primary instruction with no share in this item.

does the total of 65,000 primary schools include infant schools, numbering 2,684 in 1859,* and receiving 262,000 infants. Neither does it include adult schools, apprentice schools, needlework schools, educating among them a great number of pupils, and nearly all assisted, some supported, out of this expenditure, but for which, unfortunately, there are no collected statistics of as recent a date as 1856.† If added, these would certainly carry the number of places of instruction for the poorer classes in France to 75,000, and the number of learners in them to above four millions. But, omitting these, omitting the private schools, for 1,710,000*l.* a year more than 50,000 schools are entirely maintained, and more than three millions and a half of children are instructed. Assume the whole expenditure to contribute equally to this result; then, to the three-fourths raised by taxation, three-fourths of the school-result effected are due. In other words, for 1,295,000*l.*, more than 37,500 schools are maintained, and more than two millions and a half of children are taught.

In Great Britain, according to the latest returns, the annual expenditure on primary instruction, properly so called, was about 800,000*l.* Putting out of sight, as we have put out of sight in the case of France, the value received for this expenditure in the shape of administration, inspection, &c., let us ask what it achieved for schools and scholars. It *maintained* no schools; but it aided, we will assume, in one way or other, all the schools liable to inspection; and on this estimate, which is exaggerated, it aided 8,461 primary schools, giving instruction to 934,000 scholars; that is to say, it helped, at the outside, 8,461 schools to exist, and it helped 934,040 children to receive instruction. In France, the same grant would have entirely maintained nearly 25,000 schools, and to more than a million and a half of children it would have entirely given instruction.

You will also, I think, be interested to observe, that in France taxation for schools does not appear to extinguish voluntary effort for their support. Certainly in France, the local interest about schools, the local knowledge about school-matters, does not approach to that which we find in England. Yet, in spite of this, it appears that the French communes,—already compulsorily taxed, whether they send their children to school or not, to the amount of 478,200*l.* for primary instruction,—already compulsorily taxed, if they send their children to school, to the amount of 396,000*l.* for school-fees,—voluntarily impose on themselves an additional taxation of 396,000*l.* a year, in order to make their boys' schools better, in order to provide themselves

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* Infant schools in France are now regulated by the decree of March the 21st, 1855, which places them under the immediate patronage of the Empress and of a central committee. The decree establishes inspectresses of infant schools, one for each of the sixteen Academies of France; these ladies are named by the Minister, and paid by the State; they each receive 80*l.* a year, and allowances for travelling.

† In 1848 there were 6,877 adult schools in France, with 115,164 pupils. In 1848 there were 86 apprentice schools, with 1,268 scholars; and 145 *ouvroirs*, or needlework schools, with 5,908 girls attending them.

with girls' schools and infant schools, the establishment of which the law does not make obligatory.* It appears that the departments, having already undergone a compulsory rate of 164,040*l.* for the establishment of the departmental normal schools, and for the assistance of the communal primary schools, voluntarily rate themselves to the amount of 46,880*l.* more, in order to train schoolmistresses, to improve school-buildings, to furnish school-books to the poor, to supply other wants for which the law does not provide. The truth is, that a school-system, once established in a locality, inevitably renders school-matters a subject of interest and occupation with the inhabitants of that locality, even though they may not all be very ardent or very enlightened school-promoters; and a normal or a village school in France, which local zeal would probably never have been strong enough to found, local attachment is generally strong enough to maintain and improve when founded.

These schools, indeed, would look humble enough beside an Elizabethan normal college in England, or the elaborate Gothic edifice with which the liberality of the Committee of Council enables an English rector to adorn his village. English certificated schoolmasters would reject with disdain the salaries of their teachers. English normal-college students, accustomed each to his separate room, would look with contempt on the vast dormitories, rigidly plain though scrupulously neat, in which French students sleep by companies, under the charge of an overlooker, like the inmates of an hospital or a barrack. The English Privy Council Office would regard with contempt a certificate-examination which occupies but a few hours, and which leaves conic sections unexplored. English inspectors would never quit their fellowships for posts, the occupant of which has the salary of an exciseman. This service of inspection, indeed, in which I could not but feel a sympathetic and friendly interest, is, of all the cheap services of French public instruction, the very cheapest. Till recently, a primary inspector's salary was such as to appear, even to French officials, cruelly insufficient; intolerably out of proportion with the importance of his functions. It was such as to reduce him to live by what he could borrow, not unfrequently having recourse for his loans to the teachers under his inspection.* But even now that their position is improved,† even now that their salary is raised nearly to the highest point which, in 1857, their compassionate friends thought possible, what is it that French inspectors receive? The highest class of them receives 96*l.* a year; the second class 80*l.*; the third, and infinitely the most numerous, 64*l.* They have besides this while actually engaged, away from home, in the business of inspection, a personal allowance of 5*s.* 6*d.* a day, with

* *Budget de l'Instruction publique*, p. 192.

† By a decree of June 21st, 1858, due to M. Rouland, the present Minister. There are at present 275 primary inspectors; 30 in the highest class, 60 in the second, 185 in the lowest. There is, besides, for Paris, a special class of inspectors, with salaries of 160*l.* a-year.

6*d.* (it is almost incredible) for every school which they visit. Out of this allowance they have to defray their own travelling expenses. Compared with this, the incomes of the officials of the central administration are princely. But compared with our standard, they are, with one single exception, very low. The divisional chief, answering to the Secretary to our Education Committee, receives, when his salary has reached its highest point, 480*l.* a year; the two *chefs de bureau*, corresponding to our assistant secretaries, receive 240*l.*; the lower officials in a like proportion. The four inspectors-general of primary instruction, the corner-stone of the administrative fabric, and the employment of whom makes it possible to employ with profit an army of inspectors of a lower grade, receive but 320*l.* a year. Vice-president or vice-minister there is none; indeed, the French officials thought the post of this functionary, when I explained it to them, a very curious invention. "Your vice-presidency," they said, "must generally have for its occupant one who would not "have been designated chief minister of public instruction; yet "it is he who, under the shadow of a nominal chief's authority, "will inevitably transact nine-tenths of your educational busi-"ness, and give the guidance to your system." Such was their criticism, whether it be sound or not; at all events they have not the office. Alone amid his host of inferior functionaries, with unapproachable brilliancy, *velut inter ignes Luna minores*, shines the Minister. He has a salary of 4,000*l.* a year, with a house and allowances, which raise the value of his post much higher. This enormous disproportion between the chief's salary and that of even his highest functionaries, strikes an English observer as strange. Perhaps French subordinates console themselves with the reflection, that in their country any educated man may aspire to be Minister of Public Instruction, as any common soldier may aspire to be a Marshal of France.

The habits of our country are hardly compatible with official salaries so low as those of France; and to have our schoolmasters' means reduced to the French standard would be a serious misfortune. But there can be no doubt that a certain plainness and cheapness is an indispensable element of a plan of education which is to be very widely extended; that a national system is at this price. In operations on a really vast scale, that rigid economy, even in the smallest matters, which in very limited operations may be thought overstrained, becomes an imperious necessity. The department to which I have the honour to belong is, perhaps, the most rigidly administered of any of the English public departments; it is of very recent date, it has grown up under the broad daylight of publicity. But its habits were formed when the schools under its supervision might be counted on the fingers. *On ne dote pas une armée*, mournfully cries M. Eugène Rendu, contrasting the condition of French inspectors with that of their English brethren; but an army the English school-inspectors must become if they are to meet the

exigences of a national school-system. Yet what nation can afford to employ, in such a service, 275 highly-trained diplomatists, selected to conduct delicate negotiations with influential rectors? The thing is impossible; a vast body like that of the French inspectors must necessarily be taken from a larger class, paid at a lower rate, and recruited in part, as the French inspectors are with eminent advantage recruited, from among the masters of elementary schools. "Should you not gain in some "respects by having your inspectors drawn from a higher class "in society?" I asked M. Magin. He said that the work of primary inspection was perfectly well done by the present staff, and, so far as I had the means of observing, I entirely agree with him; but even had the actual results been less satisfactory, he would not allow that it was possible to entertain the question for a moment. The number, he said, was too overwhelming. Again, with respect to what may seem small matters of expenditure, it is impossible to over-estimate the saving which is effected in France, where administration is on so vast a scale, by a scrupulous economy in respect to these. Royal and imperial ordinances limit the privilege, and guard against the abuse, of official postage. Stationery and printing, those great administrative agents, are under severe control. "*La paperasserie* "*administrative est le fléau de l'administration Française,*" said a distinguished official one day to me,—"French admini- "stration is bepapered to death;"—in English administration, also, paper plays no small part; but on how much more extravagant a scale! I have before me the form of report used by French inspectors when they visit a school. It is a single note-sheet of ordinary paper, containing printed questions, over against which the answers have to be written. Within these iron bounds is the ill-appreciated but irrepressible eloquence of inspectors confined. An English inspector's visit to any elementary school expends six sheets and a half of excellent foolscap. These appear insignificant matters; but when you come to provide for the inspection of 65,000 schools, it makes a difference whether you devote to each six sheets and a half of good foolscap, or a single sheet of very ordinary note-paper. Again, I take the item of certificate-examinations. The charge for these in France is borne by the departments; under one sum is included the outlay for these, the outlay for the cantonal delegacies, the outlay for premises for savings-banks; all three being at the charge of the departments. In 1856 this item for the whole of France was under 2,000*l.* For this sum, besides the other expenses just mentioned, the certificate-examinations requisite to meet the wants of a system of 47,000 schools employing certificated teachers, were provided for. What, in the same year, was the cost of our certificate-examinations for a system of some 6,000 schools? I am very curious to know, but unfortunately I cannot ascertain. The French, who are the best account-keepers in the world, have an excellent plan of crediting

each department with the cost of its own printing. It would be well, perhaps, if we followed their example; at present an English department has its printing executed, its stationery provided, and in its estimates makes no sign. But I remember the five days' paper-work of our examinations—I remember the supplies of stationery—I remember the crowning operations of the Department of Science and Art. Again, with respect to a far greater source of expense, the building and fitting of schools. In Paris are to be seen school-buildings very handsome, very elaborately fitted; but in the country districts they will not bear comparison, for completeness and architectural decoration, with those in the country districts in England. Buildings are very commonly adapted to school-purposes instead of being expressly erected for them; but these school-rooms are quite good enough to be exceedingly useful, and by condescending to use them an education system can carry its schools and teachers into poor and remote communes, which must else have remained strangers to them. I am bound to say that great good sense seemed to me to characterize French administration both in its requirements and in its forbearance when dealing with schools; to take the much disputed article of boarded floors, for instance; recommended generally in all schools, these have never been inflexibly required but for infant schools. Perhaps we may one day have to take a lesson from France in some of these respects. Not without doing violence to some crotchets, not without lopping off some elegant but superfluous branches of expenditure, will the plaything of philanthropists be converted into the machine of a nation.

VI.

You are now informed of the number and cost of the French primary schools. They will naturally ask next, What are these numerous schools of France like, what sort of an education do they give to their scholars? To this question I shall endeavour to reply by giving an account of a few of the schools which I myself visited, and I will select those which may serve as representatives of the class to which they belong.

This is not difficult. M. Rouland, the Minister of Public Instruction, in an interview with which he honoured me while I was in Paris, assured me, on hearing that I proposed to visit schools in all parts of France, that I was giving myself a great deal of very unnecessary trouble; that when I had seen a few schools anywhere, I had seen enough to enable me to judge of all. It would have been improper for me to accept this assurance, even upon such eminent authority, without verifying it by my own experience. I therefore proceeded on my enterprise, for which M. Rouland obligingly furnished me with the most ample facilities; and I visited schools in all quarters of France. I learned much, which, without visiting the localities, I never should have known; but I also learned that M. Rouland had

good reasons for his assertion, and that schools in France differed one from another much less than schools in England. Having learned this, I am at least enabled to spare the Commissioners repeated descriptions of the same thing.

On the 17th of April I visited, in company with M. Rapet, a public lay school in the Rue du Faubourg Montmartre. It was a good specimen of its class. Held in a large and imposing building, in a good street, it contained a boys' school and a girls' school, with about 200 scholars in each. The school-rooms are built over each other; the ceilings being, in all the best and newest schools, so constructed that there is no noise. The rooms were less lofty than our best school-rooms, but quite as well ventilated; in general I found the ventilation of schools better in France than it is in England. Each school had its covered playground as well as its open-air playground; this covered playground, very rare in England, is a noticeable feature of all the best schools in the French towns; it is generally a large room on the same floor with the school-room; its use is to afford to the children a place for recreation in bad weather, and for their meals in the middle of every day. The parents are glad of an arrangement which relieves them throughout the day from the charge of their children, who are also thus saved two journeys in the crowded streets. I saw, in the covered playground of this school, the children, after a game of play, ranged at their dinners, which they bring with them from home; an assistant teacher was present, and the greatest order prevailed. The fittings of the school-rooms were good, much on the same plan as that formerly followed in our British schools, but with better desks; the walls were barer than with us, and, indeed, it is rare to see on the walls of a French school-room the abundant supply of maps so common in English school-rooms; but there is generally to be found the map of France and the map of Europe. Conspicuous were the crucifix and the bust of the Emperor—the indispensable ornaments of French public school-rooms. The boys' school occupied two good rooms; one under the charge of the master, a well-mannered and intelligent man, the other under the charge of an assistant master, or *adjoint*. These *adjoints* play an important part in French primary instruction; they are young men not yet arrived at the age when they may be full communal teachers;* the law does not oblige them to be certificated, but all those employed in Paris and in the large towns are certificated, because the municipalities of these towns will employ no other; the departmental council decides whether a school needs an *adjoint* or not; the head-master names him. Monitors were employed in the lower section, which was that under the assistant's care, and much the largest. The appearance of the boys was very much the same as that of the boys whom I see constantly in British and Wesleyan schools;

* To be a full communal teacher in France one must be 24 years old, and have served three years since the age of 21 as *adjoint* or as *suppléant*. See *Décret du* 31 Décembre 1853.

there were very many whom I could not have distinguished from English children. Their instruction,* also, was much on a par with that of the scholars of a good British or Wesleyan school in London; their reading was somewhat better; their writing, to my eye, not so good, but the French style of handwriting is different from ours; their grammar and dictation about equal; their arithmetic better; their history and geography not so good. The same is true, I think, of nearly all the French primary schools; the reading and arithmetic are better than ours, the arithmetic in particular being in general much more intelligently taught by their masters, and much more intelligently apprehended by their children; the information about geography and history is decidedly inferior. I must notice, however, that in the schools of Nancy, and in the excellent Jewish schools of Paris, to which M. Albert Cohn, the president of the Jewish Beneficent Society, kindly conducted me, the boys answered my questions on geography, and, still more, on history, as well as the best instructed scholars whom I have ever found in an English school.

The girls were all collected in one large room. The city of Paris is about to institute *adjointes*, or assistant mistresses, for girls' schools; in the meantime, the schoolmistress here has the aid of 14 monitresses, who receive a small sum, the highest of them eight francs a month. The order, both here and in the boys' school, was excellent. The instruction in both, as in all the communal schools of Paris and of every large town in France, is entirely gratuitous. Books, as well as schooling, are given gratuitously by the city of Paris. Parents, even the well-circumstanced, receive gladly and without a shadow of scruple this boon of free education for their children; the best judges, however, are of opinion that the urban municipalities have not done well in bestowing it so indiscriminately; the law certainly contemplated the exaction of school-fees from those who can afford to pay them; and, it is said, the want of the funds without difficulty thus obtainable prevents the establishment of new schools which are needed.

The law, indeed, prescribes† that no child shall be admitted gratuitously into a public school unless he produces a ticket of admission signed by the mayor; and if this ticket of admission were given with proper caution, scholars who can afford to pay for their schooling would, no doubt, be excluded from schools not intended for them. But, in point of fact, this ticket is given at Paris with great laxity; mayors very generally authorize the teachers of well-conducted schools to make out their own lists of candidates for admission, and this list, when presented, is accepted without farther inquiry. But in the teachers, both of lay and congreganist schools, there is an invariable tendency to

* For the present time-table (by authority) of the lay public schools of Paris, see the end of this Report.

† See *ante*, p. 53.

prefer the better trained, better dressed, more creditable child of well-circumstanced parents, to the ill-conditioned offspring of the poor. A teacher's pardonable pride in having his school respectable, and in winning, through his scholars, an influence with their influential parents, explains well enough this tendency; even if it cannot, in the disciples of the Abbé de Lasalle, entirely excuse it. The deserved popularity of the schools of the brethren, and the undoubted preference for them of the most respectable part of the urban populations, give them ample opportunities of thus offending. To the Sisters they are yet more abundantly offered, and as seldom resistible. There are communes where, out of five Sisters engaged for the service of public education, one Sister alone devotes her labours to the poor. Under this one Sister all the poor children of the parish, of all ages, are taught in a single free class, often numbering as many as eighty scholars. The four remaining Sisters devote themselves to the diversified instruction of two classes of about fifteen girls each, drawn from the well-circumstanced families of the commune, who pay from three to five francs a month for a daughter's schooling. It is, undoubtedly, true that in this way the instruction of the poor often suffers; sometimes by the actual exclusion of poor children from public schools where their places are improperly occupied by the rich, sometimes by the undue subordination of their instruction to that of richer scholars.

Yet I could not discover that even in the great towns, where population is thickest, masses of poor children anywhere remained without instruction. There are cases of hardship, such as those which I have mentioned; but I should mislead you if I allowed you to think that I found in any French city educational destitution such as that of the 21,025 schoolless children of Glasgow, such as that of the 17,177 schoolless children of Manchester.* I should mislead them if I let them think that I found in France, or that I believe to exist in France, a schoolless multitude like the 2,250,000 of England. I endeavoured, without success, to obtain returns showing the number of children in France between the ages of five and thirteen years who remain without schooling. Inquiries have been for the last few years in prosecution with a view to obtain accurate information on this matter; but those conducting them avowed to me that they were not yet sufficiently complete to enable them to give me statistics which might be relied on. It would be well, perhaps, if the statisticians of all countries were equally cautious or equally candid. But in all the large towns which I visited, the inspectors united in assuring me that, irregularly as the schools might be frequented, feeble as might be the result which they

* See *The State of our Educational Enterprises*, by the Rev. Wm. Fraser, Glasgow, 1858, p. 146. I do not agree with Mr. Fraser's conclusions; but it is impossible to value too highly either the information which he has collected, or the spirit in which he writes.

produced, no considerable class of children remained out of the reach of their operations. In Paris, where I made special inquiries, M. Rapet,—whose assurances, in every case where I could verify them, I never failed to find true, who is not inexperienced, who is not of a sanguine temper, who does not by any means see French public education in a rosy light,—assured me of the same thing. Other officials, unconnected with education, and with the fullest opportunities for learning the habits of the poor, repeated his assurances. My own observation of the streets and schools in the most destitute and populous quarters of Paris confirmed them. I believe that in the great cities of France industry is organized down to a much lower stage than in those of England; that the number of families without any recognized and regular mode of living, is far smaller; that the number of children, therefore, left by parents, who themselves hang loose upon society, to run as wild through the world as themselves, is comparatively restricted.

A few days later I visited a school in the Rue de la Sourdière, kept by the Sisters. There is here a girls' school with 200 scholars, held in three good and well-fitted rooms, each under the care of a Sister; there is also an infant school of 100, under the care of two other Sisters. These Sisters belong to a community of sixteen, who live in the same house under a superior; five are charged with the care of the schools, the remainder devote themselves to visiting the poor, tending the sick, preparing medicaments for them, and similar works of charity. The premises where the school was formerly held were very bad; two years ago the city of Paris bought the present house, and arranged it excellently for its actual purpose. The order in both schools was admirable; the instruction in the girls' school moderate. The arithmetic, however, was good; nearly all the girls in the upper class could work correctly sums in interest, and in vulgar and decimal fractions; in a similar school in England this would seldom be the case. On the other hand, few girls in this class could tell how many departments France contained, or had even an elementary knowledge of geography; the upper class of a girls' school in England is generally fairly informed on geography,—certainly, has almost always learnt the number of the English counties. In Paris the instruction in the schools of the Sisters is commonly inferior, the inspectors told me, to that of the lay girls' schools. In the provinces it is not so; not, perhaps, that the Sisters' schools are there better, but that the lay schools are worse. Apart from the mere instruction, however, there is, even in Paris, something in the Sisters' schools which pleases both the eye and the mind, and which is more rarely found elsewhere. There is the fresh, neat school-room, almost always cheerfuller, cleaner, more decorated than a lay school-room. There is the orderliness and attachment of the children. Finally, there is the aspect of the Sisters themselves, in general of a refinement beyond that of their rank in life; of a

gentleness which even beauty in France mostly lacks; of a tranquillity which is evidence that their blameless lives are not less happy than useful. If ever I have beheld serious, yet cheerful benevolence, and the serenity of the mind pictured on the face, it is here. Is it then impossible,—I perpetually asked myself in regarding them,—is it then impossible for people no longer under the world's charm, or who have never felt it, to associate themselves together, and to work happily, combinedly, and effectually, unless they have first adhered to the doctrines of the Council of Trent?

The law of France does not recognize perpetual vows; but it is extremely rare,—it is so rare as to be almost without example, and an indelible stigma,—for a Sister to quit the religious life when she has once embraced it. She may quit, indeed,—fatigue or ill-health may often compel her to quit,—the laborious profession of a teacher; but it is only to engage in some other charitable service of her calling. If she ceases to be a schoolmistress, she becomes a visitress or a nurse, or she gives her labours in the dispensary. To the end of her life she remains the servant of the necessitous and of the afflicted. This sustained religious character secures to her the unfeigned respect of the common people, and enables her to render invaluable services to society.

Attached to the same establishment is an *asile-ouvroir*, or needlework school, which I visited. These schools are open after or between the ordinary school-hours; they are attended by girls from mixed schools under masters, to which they are often annexed; by girls from ordinary girls' schools, of which the teacher is not particularly skilled in needlework; finally, by girls who attend no other school at all. For the benefit of the latter a little instruction in reading, arithmetic, and religious knowledge is added to the lessons in sewing, knitting, and marking. Embroidery and ornamental work are proscribed by law, except in those districts of France where they form an important branch of female industry. As the schools are open only for a few hours in each day, the services of skilful teachers can be secured for a very moderate remuneration. These establishments, which are of great use, and which have had no small share in giving to French needlewomen their superiority, are unknown as a school-institution in England.

The next day I visited two establishments kept by Brethren of the Christian Schools. The first, situated in the Rue S. Lazare, contained 250 boys, and was conducted by three of the brethren. It is not a public, but a private school (*école libre*); but it is a private school in a condition in which many private schools in France actually find themselves, and therefore I mention it. It was founded by private subscriptions, and it was intended to be a kind of parochial school, under the superintendence of the local clergy. Subscriptions fell off, and the city of Paris at the present moment pays the rent of the building where the school is held, and will sooner or later end by taking upon itself the whole expense of the institution, and by converting it into a communal

school. Hardly anywhere in France—(in this the reports of all the inspectors concur)—can the private boys' schools, whether they be lay or congreganist, hold their own in the competition with the public schools. The private girls' schools kept by the Sisters are more fortunate. But for their boys,—although even in the private school the teacher has the indispensable guarantee of the certificate of capacity, without which, in France, no man may teach,—parents undoubtedly prefer the public school with its additional guarantees of a public character and a more detailed inspection. To State-inspection all private schools are subject; but only in what concerns their provision for the bodily health and comfort of the pupils, and their maintenance of due morality. So strongly do these establishments feel the advantage conferred by the publicity and stimulant of thorough inspection, that they constantly request the inspector to extend his examination from their school-premises to their school-instruction. Generally he refuses, and for reasons which his English brethren would do well to remember. "If I find the instruction ever so "bad and injudicious," he says, "I have no power to get it "changed; and I am bound to give public service where I know "it can have results." Many an English squire, in like manner, wishes for the stimulant of inspection, while he is determined to keep his school entirely independent. In other words, he wishes to have an inspector down from London occasionally, as he would have a landscape-gardener or an architect, to talk to him about his school, to hear his advice, and to be free to dismiss him, as he might dismiss the landscape-gardener or the architect, the moment his advice becomes unpalatable. He wishes to have a public functionary to act as showman to his school once a-year. But it is not for this that the State pays its servants. State-supervision is useless if it can be rejected the moment it becomes a reality; the moment it tends to enforce general reason against individual caprice. The counsels of inspection, to be of any real worth, must be in some way or other authoritative.

As the school in the Rue S. Lazare presented in other respects little that was remarkable, I shall pass on from it to another school kept by the brethren, which I saw on the same morning, a public school in the Rue du Rocher. Here not less than four brethren were employed; one for each of the four classes into which this large school, containing 400 boys, was divided. The schools of the brethren have a decided advantage over the lay schools in the number of their teachers. A lay school in Paris has a master and an *adjoint*, two efficient teachers; a school of the brethren has never less than three; always, when the school is large, a greater number. For the evening or adult school a fresh relay of brethren is ready, while the lay teacher has the toil of evening and day alike. A sick or overworked brother is sent to recover, in perfect rest of body and mind, at one of the houses of residence of his order, while another of his community is sent to take his place, without disturbance or detriment to the school. The illness of a lay schoolmaster agitates him with

apprehension, mulcts him in salary, and deranges his school. Such are the advantages which a great association like that of the brethren confers on its members. But even such an association is not numerous enough to supply to elementary schools an adequate force of teaching power. It supplies more than its lay competitors in France; it has thus a great advantage over them. But what were even four teachers among these 400 boys of the Rue du Rocher? with 110 boys to be controlled and taught in a single room by one brother, 80 by a second, the remainder in two other rooms by the third and fourth? I here touch the weak point of the French schools. The brethren, it is true, do not employ monitors; but the value of monitors is by this time pretty accurately appreciated. Under certain circumstances the employment of them is indispensable. M. de Lasalle, in his Manual,* laid down a plan for the division and subdivision of the school-work by means of the use of monitors, and is, in truth, the earliest inventor of the mutual or monitorial system. In the war between the simultaneous and mutual systems, which raged so hotly in France from 1815 to 1830, the brethren, like the clergy, naturally took part against a system extolled by their enemies and directed against their influence. The brethren were partisans of the simultaneous system, which centred the whole system in the head-teacher, that is, in one of themselves. The French liberals were partisans of the mutual system, which, as they hoped, would substitute innumerable neutral influences for the one influence of the ecclesiastical head-teacher. But all this is passed. The battle between lay and clerical influence is no longer fought with the weapons of the mutual and simultaneous systems. Clergy and laymen alike confess the imperfections of both. I talked little to my friends among the French inspectors about the pupil-teachers of Holland and England. I was in France that I might learn what they knew, and not that I might teach them what I knew. But if these lines ever meet the eye of any one of them, let me assure him that popular education in France will gain more by the introduction of pupil-teachers into a single school, than by libraries of discussion upon the mutual and simultaneous systems.

Pupil-teachers—the sinews of English primary instruction; whose institution is the grand merit of our English State-system, and its chief title to public respect;—this, and, I will boldly say, the honesty with which that system has been administered. Pupil-teachers—the conception, for England, of the founder of English popular education, Sir James Shuttleworth. In naming them, I pause to implore you to use your powerful influence to preserve this institution to us unimpaired. Entreat ministerial economy to respect a pensioner who has repaid the outlay

* See his remarkable words, quoted by M. Ambroise Rendu, in his *Essai sur l'Instruction publique*, vol. i. p. 81.

upon him a thousand times; entreat Chancellors of the Exchequer to lay their retrenching hands anywhere but here; entreat the Privy Council Office to propose for sacrifice some less precious victim. Forms less multiplied, examinations less elaborate, inspectors of a lower grade; let all these reductions be endured rather than that the number of pupil-teachers should be lessened. If these are insufficient, a far graver retrenchment, the retrenchment of the grants paid to holders of our certificates of merit, would be yet far less grave than a considerable loss of pupil-teachers. A certificate, indeed, is properly a guarantee of capacity, and not an order for money. There is no more reason that it should entitle its possessor to 20*l.* than that it should entitle him to a box at the Opera. Private liberality can repair the salaries of the schoolmasters, but no private liberality can create a body like the pupil-teachers. Neither can a few of them do the work of many. "Classes of twenty-five, and an efficient "teacher to each class:"—that school-system is the best which inscribes these words on its banners.

The overwhelming size of their classes has naturally an exhausting effect on French teachers. In none of them is this effect more apparent than in the brethren, originally in many cases the feebler and less robust members of a poor family, who have sought in the career of tuition, not only a field of pious labour, but an exemption from military service* and from the rude life of a tiller of the ground. They have often, the younger ones more especially, a languid and apathetic air, and go through their work as if they had strength to go through it only by routine. They speak as little as possible, and to save their voices have invented a machine like a rattle, peculiar to the schools of the brethren, with which they give all the signals that another teacher would give with his voice. They keep their scholars writing, an English teacher would say, perpetually; in all the French schools, indeed, lay as well as congreganist, the written bear to the oral exercises an exorbitant proportion, but in no schools so exorbitant as in those of the brethren. As some compensation, the caligraphy of their pupils is celebrated. But the habit of oral questioning (and on this point M. Rapet entirely agreed with me) is far too little practised.

The brother who has the principal charge of a school must be certificated. On the brethren who assist him there is imposed no such obligation. One often finds, therefore, in one of these schools, a great difference between the vigour, confidence, and acquirements of the chief teacher, and those of his assistants. But they live very harmoniously together, and the youthful brother, in time, obtains his certificate, and qualifies himself to take the principal charge of a school. The superior of the house

* Ever since 1818 the engagement to remain for ten years in the service of public instruction frees him who takes it from the obligation of military service.

of residence which furnishes teachers to a school exercises very constantly and very thoroughly his right of inspection of it.

In the schools of the brethren there is the same want of maps which is observable in the lay schools, but the nakedness of the walls is generally relieved by religious pictures and religious sentences. The instruction differs in no important particular from that of lay schools. That of the best lay schools, however, is unquestionably, on the whole, somewhat more advanced.* In lay and congreganist schools alike, drawing and music are more systematically taught than in our schools, and taught, in general, by special masters. The communities of the brethren furnish them with a supply of trained labour in all departments of teaching. I was greatly struck with the appearance of the young brother who taught drawing in the school of the Rue du Rocher; he had a genuine vocation for his art, and his face expressed the animation and happiness which the exercise of a genuine vocation always confers. I visited him and his brethren in their house of residence; their chapel had been elaborately decorated by his sole industry; it must have been a labour of months, but a labour of love.

The brethren are far less constant than the Sisters to the religious life. For the Sisters the religious life is the principal object of their association, the profession of teaching but the accessory: for the brethren the career of teaching is the principal, the rest the accessory. Their vows as members of their own community are for three or five years; but as public functionaries in the service of public instruction, and, as such, exempt from the conscription, their engagement is for ten years, and for this term they actually serve in schools. At the end of this time it is not unusual for them to depart at once out of the career of teaching and the pale of their community, and to return to the garb and professions of civil life. Some of them marry and become fathers of families. Their association, therefore, is by no means invested in the eyes of the people with the same religious and sacred character as that of the Sisters.

This is true; and it is probably true, also, that the motives which determine their entrance into their order are often not religious. It is probably true that, as the best-informed persons assert, many a young peasant becomes a Brother of the Christian Schools because he can commence his duties and cease to be a charge to his parents two years sooner than if he embrace the career of a lay teacher. He cannot be admitted into a normal school before the age of 18; the fraternity will receive him at 16. If slow at learning, he dreads the certificate-examination; but without the certificate he cannot earn his bread as a lay teacher, while the fraternity can employ him as one of their

* As long ago as in 1818, the rector of the Academy of Strasbourg gives as a reason why there were no schools of the brethren in Alsace, then as now one of the best-educated districts in France, that "dans les endroits plus populeux et plus riches, on exige un "enseignement supérieur à celui des Frères." See *Essai sur l'Instruction publique*, vol. iii., p. 243

numerous under-masters, though he be uncertificated. Many of the French inspectors, therefore, eye the schools of the brethren a little severely. They regard them, certainly, with far less indulgence than the schools of the Sisters; they regard their teachers as wearing a character of religious vocation which often really belongs to them no more than to the teacher of a common lay school; they are fond of maintaining that the congreganist boys' schools afford to parents no better guarantee than the lay schools for the religion and morality of their children; they are eager to prove that parents have really no preference for the former over the latter. The brethren, on the other hand, are not unwilling to have it understood that they suffer from the hands of authority unmerited obstruction; that their Christian devotedness has its difficulties to contend with; that if their success is great, it is because their merits are irresistible.

Conscious, upon this question, of the most absolute impartiality, I shall frankly state to the Commissioners the conclusion at which I have arrived. On the one hand, it is unquestionable that the religious associations have hitherto had rather to bless the favour than to complain of the obstruction of the civil authorities. If they sometimes have the primary inspector a little against them, they almost always have the primary inspector's masters, the prefect and the Minister, on their side. From the day when a Protestant Minister, M. Guizot, offered to the Superior * of the Christian Schools the decoration of the Legion of Honour—a distinction which its proposed object, with a modesty not less prudent than pious, respectfully declined—to the present time, when Ministers say to a functionary, who reports some infraction of school-law by the Sisters,—"*Vous me faites des difficultés : "laissez cela*"—when inspectors tell me with their own lips,—"*Si "nous avons quelque chose à reprocher aux frères, nous y regar- "dons à deux fois avant de le dire ;—cela nous attirerait des "misères—c'est extrêmement redoutable*"—the religious associations have been to all Governments an object of favour and respect, sometimes sincere, sometimes interested. Of this there can be no question.

On the other hand, I am profoundly convinced that in the quarters where they are numerous, and certain districts which may be called great centres of lay feeling—Normandy, Lorraine, Alsace—being excluded, the population generally prefers the schools of religious associations to lay schools. With respect to girls' schools there cannot be a moment's doubt; the Sisters' advantage is utterly beyond the reach of competition. With respect to the brethren's schools also, however, I feel entire certainty. In Paris it is even a bad sign of the respectability and religious character of a family when it prefers, for its boys, a lay school to a congreganist. In the country, wherever I had the means of making personal inquiry, I found the same thing;

* The Père Anaclet, in 1833.

if a school of the brethren was accessible, the more decent, the better conducted a family was, the more certainly it sent its boys there. It was commonly thought that there the children would be under a better influence; that the moral tone, as it is called, of such a school was superior. I add, with some hesitation on this point, which is not so easy of proof, that I believe the common opinion was right.

You must recollect, however, that the schools of the brethren, although constantly on the increase, are not and cannot be very numerous. The Sisters are everywhere, because teaching is with them but one of many functions, for some of which almost every locality desires them. But the brethren who perform no function but that of teaching, who go out in parties of not less than three, who cost a commune 1,500 or 1,600 francs, instead of the 500 or 600 francs which a common lay teacher costs, and whose schools, being inevitably gratuitous, fail to contribute in aid of their teacher's maintenance the resource of school-fees, cannot be generally introduced into small and poor communes Among the various associations, more than 20 in number, which devote themselves to the instruction of the poor, there are some indeed which are less costly than the Brethren of the Christian Schools. There are the Brethren of Marie, in the regions about Lyons* and Bordeaux, who go out as teachers in parties of two: there are in Brittany the Brethren of Lamennais, founded by a brother of the celebrated writer of that name, who go out singly. But none of them enjoy the same favour as the Brethren of the Christian Schools, or can compare with them in success. The Bishop of Quimper told me that the Brethren of Lamennais, who are quartered upon the curé of the parish whither they are sent, and who cost very little, were irksome inmates to the curés, and not willingly accepted by them. In fact, the moment a brother goes singly, and can therefore be employed by any poor commune, he loses the virtue which religious association confers upon its members, and which is the source of half their strength. How unlike to the lonely teacher, isolated in his labour, isolated in his weariness, isolated in his joy, isolated in his temptation, is the little company of three

* Lyons is also the original seat of the *Société d'Instruction élémentaire*, the most considerable lay association which has in France made popular education its object. In 1826, a few persons in Lyons, about 20 in number, who wished to introduce more lay influence into the management of schools for the poor, formed themselves into a society, which in 1829 was authorized by royal ordinance. The society began with eight or nine schools under its direction; it has now 39 in Lyons and the immediate neighbourhood. It has its own inspector and its executive commission, and assembles monthly to meet its teachers, in presence of the inspector, who then makes his report. The society raises about 10,000 fr. a year by *private* subscription. At first it was quite independent; but as its operations extended, the municipality of Lyons came to its aid, and now pays the difference between the 10,000 fr. which the society annually raises by subscription, and the 80,000 fr. which it actually spends. But this aid makes the schools of the society *public* and *municipal* schools. As such, they now have their teachers appointed by the prefect, and all the authority left to the society is a right of inspection, and of drawing up for their schools a programme of instruction, which, however, cannot be adopted unless approved by the Academy inspector of the district.

devised by M. de Lasalle, meeting after the toil of the day in their common home, a society for themselves in the most unsocial spots, at once a solace to each other, and a salutary check!

If you must not think that this excellent association can reach all the poor of France, so neither must you think that to put instruction in its hands is, so far as its action extends, to put it entirely in the hands of the clergy. Their schools are public schools, as the lay schools are; they are subjected to the same authorities as the lay schools; the clergyman has no more power to name or dismiss a teacher, or to interfere with the instruction (except so far as to satisfy himself that the religious instruction is properly cared for) in the one than the other. Undoubtedly, the brethren are felt by the curé to be more akin to him than the lay teacher is; undoubtedly he prefers them to the lay teacher, and procures their introduction into his parish, when he can. But the school is not really under the clergyman's hand, like the National school of an English parish: it is under the hand of the ordinary civil authorities; the mayor, the cantonal delegates, the inspectors, the prefect. What really resembles our National school is the parochial school of France (*école paroissiale*), generally taught by the religious; but a *private* school, founded expressly that it may be in ecclesiastical hands, and not in civil. But these schools are very rare in France, difficult to maintain, not acceptable to the population. The public school taught by the religious is a school under teachers in general sympathy with the clergy, but not clergy themselves, nor able to become so; and, as members of a great association, having a spirit of their own, an independence of their own, and dealing with the curé nearly as equal to equal. If the National schools of England were taught by an order of lay deacons, nearly equal to the clergyman of the parish in their social position, and legally independent of him, they would then be in the position of the public congreganist schools of France. The National schoolmaster would then stand towards the rector, not as now, much on the same footing as his gardener, but on the same footing as a brother clergyman unattached. The English National schools would then be in the hands of a body, which, though with strong clerical affinities, would be a body perfectly distinct from the clergy, and incapable of blending with it; a body with a spirit and power of its own; a body by its very essence more scholastic than priestly; whereas a clergy, however admirable, as a body never forgets that it was priest before it was schoolmaster.

It was important to call your attention to this wide difference between a system of private schools in the hands of the parish clergyman, and a system of public schools in the hands of a religious association and of the State. But I hasten to add, that were the religious associations of France a thousand times more devoted to the clergy than they are, the

population would still continue to prefer their schools; and yet the clerical influence would not be a whit the gainer. It is to morality and religion that the French people, in sending its children to the congreganist schools, does homage; not to any ultramontane theories. For the supremacy of a clerical party in the State it has not the slightest favour; nor, indeed, since the Revolution, does it even dream of such supremacy as possible. I have said this elsewhere, when to many it seemed a matter of question; I repeat it more boldly now, when facts have come to give to it their confirmation. The clergy have no deep-rooted influence with the French masses. They may agitate families. They may frighten governments into making concessions to them: they may induce the State (happy result of the fears of rulers!) to rebuild their churches. They may constrain the attendance at church of Voltairian officials. But no priesthood will at the present day rule the French nation.

VII.

Mindful of M. Rouland's saying, I must not carry the Commissioners with me to too many schools; but I must still ask them, after seeing the schools of Paris, to accompany me to one or two in the country. On the morning of the 13th of May, I found myself in the office of the Academy inspector of the Gironde, M. Dauzat, whose conversation, full of shrewdness and fine remark, I had been enjoying the day before; the primary inspector of the district, M. Benoît, was there to meet me. I said to the two inspectors, that having visited many institutions by official selection, I had a desire to choose a school to visit, and a country school, for myself. A map of the department hung upon the wall, and they told me to choose where I would. I fixed upon Blanquefort, a place six or seven miles from Bordeaux, and recalling by its castle the memory of the mediæval wars and of the Black Prince. They assured me I could not have chosen more happily; that the schools of Blanquefort were neither better nor worse than the schools of most places of the same class; and that they presented an instructive variety. A little after twelve, accordingly, M. Benoît and I set out in an open carriage for Blanquefort. The day was beautiful; our road lay, at first, among gardens and country houses, but after a mile or two passed into a quiet and rural country. The environs of Bordeaux have not the movement of those of Manchester or Lyons; it is a rich and stately, but somewhat stagnant city. As we drove along, M. Benoît told me what his life was, and how a French inspector in the Gironde passed his year. He had served in the army when almost a boy; had been present with his father at the battle of Vimieiro, and had been included in the Convention of Cintra. At the peace of 1815, he found himself a lieutenant on half-pay, with small prospect of military advancement: having some turn

for teaching, he had opened a private school, had been tolerably successful, and finally, had been made a primary inspector. It is from the functionaries of secondary instruction, from the principals and professors of communal colleges and of private schools, that the majority of the primary inspectors are taken. They must have either the degree of bachelor of arts or the complete certificate embracing all the subjects, both obligatory and facultative, of primary instruction; they must also have exercised some educational function for two years. Unless this function has been of a certain rank, they have further to undergo, previous to their actual appointment, a special examination in the laws which regulate French primary instruction, and in pedagogy; this examination takes place before a commission nominated by the rector to whose Academy the school-district assigned to the new inspector belongs. A certain number of inspectorships is reserved for the most successful of the primary schoolmasters, and of the lecturers in normal schools; the director of a normal school would not accept the office. His post is worth considerably more than that of a primary inspector, and is the highest prize to which a schoolmaster can aspire.* A few of the best of the primary inspectors are advanced to the rank of Academy inspector: it is the Academy inspector who, in each department, is at the head of primary instruction; who receives the reports of the primary inspectors, advises the prefect, receives the inspector-general on his rounds, and communicates with the central authority in Paris: among the most efficient of these functionaries are those promoted from primary inspectorships. M. Benoît seemed satisfied with his present position; he had, as most Frenchmen have, some little property of his own; and the department of the Gironde, like other rich departments, gives its primary inspectors a yearly allowance,† in addition to their salary from the State. He had under his inspection not less than 646 schools, with 38,250 children; but he lived in Bordeaux, and great part of his work was either in the town itself, or in the immediate neighbourhood. While M. Benoît was telling me all this, the carriage rolled on, and presently he pointed out to me the church and village of Blanquefort, upon its vine-covered hill. We drove to the boys' school, and reached it just as the children were assembled for their afternoon lessons.

It was the only boys' school of the place, which is a large, well-built village of about 2,000 inhabitants. The master told me that he had 60 boys in ordinary attendance; I found present but 43. Many are absent at this season (just the old story in England) for field labour; but the field labour of Médoc, not of England—to clear the vineyards of snails and caterpillars, and

* The salary of a normal school director of the highest class is from 2,800 to 3,000 fr. a-year; of the lowest class from 2,200 to 3,000 fr. a-year. Lecturers have from 1,000 to 1,800 fr. See *Décret du* 26 Décembre 1855, art. 1.

† In the Gironde this allowance is 400 fr. a-year. In 1857, a sum of 29,638 fr. 87 c. was thus spent by the departments in gratuities to primary inspectors.

to gather the strawberry-harvest. The school-room was large, clean, airy, and well-lighted; it was fitted with desks on the old British plan, and the children were at work under monitors. On the walls was one large map of France, and several small ones of other countries. The highest class was reading a lesson on the ostrich, similar to the lessons on natural history in the third Irish reading-book; they read well. We sat down among them, and M. Benoît questioned them in a natural kindly manner, which proved his long experience of children. At his request I examined them in grammar; they parsed a sentence well, better than I should expect to find it parsed in a country school in England. Then I questioned them in geography; they could name the capitals of Europe, its principal mountains, its principal lakes, the seas connected by the Straits of Gibraltar, &c. The chief towns of the French departments they also gave with perfect readiness and accuracy. Of history they knew nothing. In arithmetic M. Benoît examined them, setting them problem after problem; and I really hardly knew which most to admire, the goodness of the examination or the quickness of the children. Their writing was such as in an English school an inspector would describe as very fair. All but 14 of those present were reading in books. The school-books were of the kind ordinarily used in French lay schools; not good, but not, perhaps, worse than ours. The brethren, who publish their own school-books, and sell them to all but their poorest scholars who receive them gratuitously, are not more successful. I generally found their classes reading a series of moral lessons, without substance and without style, and repulsive by their sterile monotony. According to strict rule all books used in the French schools ought to be chosen from a list sanctioned by the Minister of Public Instruction; but there is much laxity. In fact, with them, as with us, there exists no thoroughly good school-series to choose.

The Blanquefort boys were well disciplined, and their appearance was cheerful and healthy. Five or six of them were without shoes and stockings; but M. Benoît told me (and the look of the children confirmed what he said) that this was not because these children were poorer than others; many parents in the South of France, he said, the well-circumstanced as well as the poor, let their children go barefoot in the hot weather for the sake of coolness. There was some poverty, however; of the 60 children in ordinary attendance, one-sixth had free schooling because they were poor; they were chosen by the mayor and curé, approved by the municipal council, and their admission finally sanctioned by the prefect. The rest pay a uniform fee of two francs a month. From April to November the attendance is thin, but never falls below 40 scholars.

Attached to the school was the master's house. It was, M. Benoît told me, an unusually good one; it had six rooms, all of them well furnished—in one of them books and a piano; at the back

of the house was a large garden, to which the school playground adjoined. The law prescribes for a schoolmaster's accommodation a three-roomed house and a garden. The salary of the master was 1,200 francs a year; of this sum 200 francs were furnished by the commune, the school-pence supplied the rest. He was an intelligent, well-mannered man of about thirty years of age.

From hence we went on to the girls' school, distant but a few paces. You will remember that the law does not impose upon communes the obligation of providing girls' schools. The one in question was held in a bad, ill-ventilated building, without playground, and taught by the master's wife. Forty-eight girls had their names on the books; 28 were present. The girls of Blanquefort were distinguished by wearing no covering on their hair; the country girls from the neighbourhood wore a handkerchief. None of them, I was told (and they themselves confirmed it to me) were likely to become domestic servants. For service they avowed a great distaste; their ambition was to live by their needle. For this they are well prepared at school, two hours in every afternoon being devoted to needlework. They read very well indeed, and worked problems in arithmetic with much cleverness and facility. Their stock of general information was small. Fifteen of them were free scholars on the ground of poverty, the rest paid from one to two francs a month. The mistress has a salary of 800 francs a year; 200 francs of this the commune pays,—voluntarily, you will remember; the school fees come to 600 francs.

The schoolmaster of Blanquefort, therefore, has from his own and his wife's salary an income of 80*l* a year. He is besides secretary to the municipality, an office almost always held by the village schoolmaster,* and which the authorities encourage him to accept. This gives him 300f. (12*l*.) more. He has also a good house and garden.

There is general ease among the population of the Gironde, and its villages and incomes must not be taken as samples of villages and incomes in the Cantal or the Creuse; but Blanquefort is a fair sample of the villages or little towns of its class in any thriving French department; and you will, I think, be struck, as I was, to remark how many things practically here come in to ameliorate the meagre part created for the teacher by the law, and in remote and indigent districts† actually sustained by him.

We had not yet done with Blanquefort. M. Benoît told me that there was a girls' school kept by the Sisters, which I ought

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* He is often, besides, clerk and organist. He is thus at once the man of the mayor and the man of the curé; when they get on well together his position is comfortable; when they quarrel, as they often do, it is difficult enough.

† Even in these districts his position is now somewhat better than the law of 1850 made it. On the favourable report of the prefect, the Minister of Public Instruction is now

to see; and thither, accordingly, we repaired. These Sisters, six in number, belong to a local order; they rent the houses which they occupy. The commune gives them nothing, but the department gives them 100f. (4*l.*) a-year towards the expenses of their infant school. Two Sisters have charge of the infant school, four of the girls' school. The moment I approached the premises, which stood a little out of the main street of the village, I was struck with the air of propriety, neatness, and order which reigned there. We first entered the girls' school. The cleanliness of the room, the discipline of the children, were really beautiful; flowers stood everywhere, and the open windows admitted the sweet air of the country in May. The furniture and school-fittings were as fresh as those of the lay girls' school were shabby and worn. The walls were well furnished with boards and maps. The girls were at their needlework, which M. Benoît told me enjoyed a high reputation; I saw their copybooks, and I heard their reading, and in any English school I should have highly commended both. Forty-three girls were present, 75 had their names on the books. Of these, 15 are admitted free, as indigent children; the rest pay from one to two francs a month. We passed into the infant school; this school-room also was brilliantly clean. The infants, 48 in number, (80 were on the books), were arranged on the gallery, the girls, even here, being separated from the boys. Boards and bible-pictures covered the walls as in a well provided infant school in England. From one of the pictures a Sister was giving a gallery-lesson on the story of Joseph. Her little pupils in the gallery looked clean and happy, and the treatment of them was evidently affectionate and even tender. Their instruction did not go far; why, indeed, should it? but they knew their letters well, they went through their exercises and their singing regularly and prettily, and their discipline was perfect. Playground, passages, and offices, were as neat and as beautifully clean as the school-rooms themselves.

I have just touched on the religious instruction; I may add that in the French schools generally, lay as well as congreganist, I found the children well instructed in the catechism and well acquainted with Scripture history. Sunday schools teach them these; they teach them little besides, but they teach them these very fairly. I passed an hour or two at Toulouse in going from chapel to chapel in the cathedral church of St. Stephen, to watch the Sunday classes under their priests; they were crowded but orderly, and work was carried on very diligently. These catechism-classes in the churches are, in fact, the French Sunday school; the Protestants have carried the institution somewhat further, but, as an instrument of secular as well as of religious instruction, it is not of much importance in France.

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authorized to augment, from the public funds, the annual salaries of deserving schoolmasters to 700 fr. after six years' service, and to 800 fr. after ten years' service. See *Décret du* 31 Décembre 1853, art. 5.

I do not know if you will think, as I do, that this visit made without notice to the schools of a country place of my own selection was very satisfactory. I would not have exchanged it for a week of visits made at the choice of the local inspectors. It showed me the everyday life of thousands of spots in the many departments of France; in her thriving departments certainly, but not more thriving than Warwickshire or Lincolnshire are thriving. Of this life it left me with a pleasant impression.

A few days afterwards, at Toulouse, I expressed to the obliging inspectors who did the honours to me of that city, my wish, after having seen an average specimen of a French country school at Blanquefort, to see a school which was decidedly below the average, a school which was, from whatever cause, in a somewhat suffering condition. They promised to gratify me, and the next day the primary inspector drove with me to the public lay school of St. Martin de Touche, a village of 800 souls, a few miles from Toulouse. As we entered the village I remarked the handsome church, quite new, and was told that it had just been entirely rebuilt. The school had certainly not been rebuilt; it was a poor building, ill-ventilated, with an uneven brick floor and no playground. The master looked depressed and without energy to struggle against his difficulties; he was no longer young, and weighed down with the charge of what is less common in France than in England, a very large family. But the moment I came to talk with him I was struck with his superiority; and the inspector told me that he was a man of very considerable cultivation and mental power, who had been educated for the priesthood, but had married and been driven to turn schoolmaster. His salary was 1,000fr. (40*l.*) a year; all the children had free schooling but bought their own books. It is the city of Toulouse which pays the master's salary and gives to the village a free school; like the other great cities of France, it does the same for all the villages in its environs. Perhaps it would aid the cause of popular education more efficiently if it spent its money upon it in a somewhat different manner; but its liberality is unquestionable. There were twenty-eight boys present; forty-five had their names on the books. I was told that there were generally about thirty in attendance through the summer; in winter the school is quite full. All the boys were wearing wooden shoes without stockings, though the children, almost all of them, of small proprietors pretty well off; they wear shoes and stockings on Sundays only. In general, unless their parents are in great destitution, boys here do not begin to work regularly till the age of 13, but in summer their occasional help is often wanted by their parents. The instruction in this school was better than I expected from its unpromising aspect; the reading was very fair, though sing-song, like rustic reading in England; there was little geography (though the walls were not ill-furnished with maps) and less

history; the grammar and arithmetic were good; the handwriting and dictation very good indeed. The latter lesson amused me; the master was dictating to his pupils from the *Journal des Instituteurs* M. Rouland's letter to the bishops, desiring their prayers for the success of France in the Italian war. This newspaper, published under the auspices of the Minister of Public Instruction, and taken in by almost every schoolmaster in France, by no means confines itself to scholastic information. A copy of it lies before me:* of 14 pages, which, exclusive of those occupied by advertisements and commercial intelligence, it contains, seven are devoted to *Politique*, and seven to *Pédagogie* and *Sciences usuelles*. Politics have naturally the post of honour. The number commences, "*On lit dans le* "Moniteur, *On cherche en Angleterre à attribuer à la France la* "*cause des charges que l'on impose au peuple Anglais pour les* "*défenses nationales.*" Then follows the rest of the well-known article of the *Moniteur*. A little further on England figures once more:—*La Tamise, dit le* Times, *qui baigne les murs du palais de Westminster, est véritablement en décomposition.* The remainder of the first seven pages is full of news from the seat of war, notices of the countries engaged in it, appreciations of their policy; all undeniably interesting, all irreproachably national, but not the least in the world pedagogic.

The master's wife had a class of six little boys in an adjoining room. She had formerly taught the girls of the village, but the Sisters had opened a school, and, as almost always happens, all the girls had been drawn off to them. This school of the Sisters had present, on the day of my visit, 40 scholars.

Before quitting elementary schools, I must conduct you to a genuine private school. I could not select a better example than the British school in Paris. This is entirely supported by voluntary contributions, and all the State has to do with it is to exercise its legal right of inspection, extending only to matters of what our neighbours call "hygiene, salubrity, "and morality."† The boys' school had forty-two children present on the day of my visit; they were very young, the children of British parents, but many of them speaking French better than English; the British school course is followed. The master, a certificated student from the Borough Road Training College, whom I remember to have seen there, is an undoubtedly able and intelligent young man; but he seemed to me to be somewhat out of spirits about his school, and to feel his solitude in Paris a good deal. The girls' school was more thriving. The children were older,

* The number for July 31st, 1859.

† See *Loi du* 15 Mars 1850, art. 21. "L'inspection des écoles libres porte sur la "moralité, l'hygiène, et la salubrité. Elle ne peut porter sur l'enseignement que pour "vérifier s'il n'est pas contraire à la morale, à la constitution, et aux lois."

the mistress, a former student of the Home and Colonial Institution, appeared sanguine about the success of her school, and in cheerful spirits. In this school I felt myself to be indeed on British ground, for there was a committee. The excellent lady who represented them was there, not in anticipation of my visit, for I had not announced it, but on an habitual errand of kindness to advise and encourage the teacher. Like many British committees in England she seemed to have no ardent fondness for government control; she was somewhat impatient of authoritative visits even when directed solely to matters of "hygiene, salubrity, and "morality;" she lamented that her school should be under the supervision of "bigoted Roman Catholic inspectors." Her fears were vain; for her inspector was M. Rapet, no more a bigoted Roman Catholic than I am. But how many friends of popular education have I seen on British committees in England, during my tours of inspection through nearly all its counties, haunted with the same apprehensions as this benevolent lady; not exactly hostile, but agitated by a susceptibility which never slumbered. *Cœlum non animum mutant*:—it was impossible to forbear smiling.

I had intended to describe a Protestant public school in France; but really such a school differs so little from a Roman Catholic lay school in the same locality, that I forbear to trouble them. Yet the grown-up Protestant population has certainly throughout France a general superiority over the Roman Catholic, in conduct, industry, and success in life. To what is their superiority owing? It is in great measure, I believe, owing to this; that the French Protestants have the unspeakable advantage, for the character, of finding themselves a small minority in presence of a vast majority; and in order to hold its own and to succeed in life, the minority has to put forth its strength, and to do its best.

VIII.

From elementary I pass to normal schools;* and before I speak of the ministerial orders which regulate these I will describe what I actually saw in them. Strange to say, in Paris there is no public normal school for primary teachers; there is an institution at Courbevoie for the training of Protestant teachers, and at Versailles there is a departmental normal school; but the capital trusts to the provinces for its supply of teachers, and so

* In 1859 there were in France seventy normal schools for laymen, with 2,750 students in training in them. There were thirty-four normal institutions for the training of lay schoolmistresses; but the Department of Public Instruction possesses no returns of the present number of students in these. There are, besides, the novitiates in which the religious are trained.

powerful are its attractions that it never fails to obtain the best of them. I saw the most efficient, perhaps, of the provincial normal schools; that of Bordeaux, that of Nancy, that of Strasbourg. I will describe that of Bordeaux.

The department of the Gironde and that of the Lot and Garonne unite to maintain this institution, each establishing scholarships in it for its own students. The director has been very successful, and has recently been rewarded with the decoration of the Legion of Honour. In his training school there are 51 students. The course is now for three years, having previously to 1851 been for two years only; and considering that the students arrive quite without the previous training of the pupil-teachers by whom our normal schools are peopled, considering that they often have almost everything to learn, three years is not a longer period than is required to form them. The students whom I saw were certainly more rustic and undeveloped than ours; later in life the experience of the world and the natural quickness of their race enable them to present themselves with at least as much advantage as our schoolmasters. Most of them are the sons of country teachers; hardly any of them were town-bred. The class of the third year, consisting of thirteen students, was receiving a mathematical lecture when I visited the institution. They do not go far in mathematics; no student in the institution was advanced as high as quadratic equations, no student was reading Euclid; they were taught, however, the elements of practical geometry. The object is to teach them what is needed for a primary school; the programme of the normal college exactly corresponds to the programme of the primary school; the student is not allowed to pass, at the end of his first year, from the obligatory matters of primary instruction to the facultative, unless he has given proof of his thorough knowledge of the former, and not of his knowledge of them merely, but also of his skill to teach them. The teaching of *method*;—it is on this that circular after circular of the Minister* insists, it is on this that the reports of the commissioners who superintend normal schools perpetually dilate, it is to this that principals and lecturers address all their efforts. Practising schools are annexed to each training college, and in them the French students pass a great deal of their time; much more, in proportion to that spent in the lecture room, than ours. And with what success? Undoubtedly, a knowledge of method is of the highest importance to the schoolmaster; *donner, c'est acquérir*, says a French poet most truly; to teach is to learn; and

* "Ne les excitez pas à sortir de ce cercle (that of the *obligatory* part of primary instruction) qui est encore assez vaste, et faites en sorte que ceux qui le franchiront cèdent à des dispositions véritables, et non à des prétentions peu justifiées. A vrai dire, ce qui fait le véritable instituteur, ce n'est pas le brevet, que tout le monde peut conquérir, c'est l'art de diriger les esprits et la pratique de l'éducation."—*Instruction générale sur les Attributions des Recteurs concernant l'Instruction primaire*, by M. Fortoul; October 31st, 1854.

to give to a man, therefore, the power of teaching well, is to give him the power of learning much. Undoubtedly, too, the attention to method in the French training schools has resulted in the establishment of improved modes of teaching particular subjects; the teaching of arithmetic, for instance, the teaching of reading, have been facilitated and simplified. Yet I doubt whether, in all this zeal for method, in this exclusive thought for the bare needs of the primary school, in this jealous apprehension lest the normal college pupil should become more of a student than a schoolmaster, the range of study has not been made unduly meagre, and a risk incurred of developing the student's mental power so insufficiently, that he will be thoroughly effective neither as student nor schoolmaster. The question is a most difficult one; I have little doubt that we in England have fallen into the contrary extreme; that we crowd so much and so various book-learning into our normal school course that the student, unless a very able man indeed, is left at the end of it stupified rather than developed; not in the condition of one trained to bring, for all his future work, his faculties into full and easy play, but of one crammed so full and so fast, that, in order to begin his real intellectual life, he must, like Themistocles, seek to learn how to forget. Perhaps, in this matter of normal school training as in others, common sense, usually the last voice suffered to make itself heard, will be heard at last; will suggest some middle way between the tenuity of the French programme and the extravagance of ours; will devise, for the future masters of our village schools, some course which neither stints them to the beggarly elements of reading and writing, nor occupies them with the differential calculus and the pedigree of Sesostris.

The staff of a French training school consists of a director, two lecturers, and a chaplain. The director is personally charged with the main part of the tuition. The system of accounts is very exact, and rigidly inspected; so vast and complicated is the machine of public instruction that it can be kept from falling into disorder only by perfect precision on the part of its lower functionaries, and on the part of the Minister, by unsparing severity to irregularities. The economy of the Bordeaux establishment was austere; the students all slept in one vast common dormitory, but the neatness and cleanliness, in France so far better practised in public establishments than in private, were exemplary. The dietary is regulated by a ministerial decree. Students of the first year pay 100 francs, one fourth of the yearly charge of a student here;* after the first year and the examination which follows it the best students complete their training free of charge, the rest continue to pay their fourth. About one-third f the whole number are thus free students. The department

* The annual value of an entire scholarship, or student's fee, is in no French training school higher than 400 fr., in none lower than 300 fr.

supplies the funds for the whole or partial scholarships thus bestowed. A good garden is attached to the establishment; and lessons in horticulture and agriculture, an idle pretence in most of the elementary schools which profess them, are in most of the normal schools of France a reality, and are greatly enjoyed by the students.

Under the legislation of M. Guizot, the admission to normal schools was by competitive examination. In the suspicion which fell on these establishments in 1848, not only the competitive examination, but all examination at entrance was abolished: and the prefect in departmental council admitted candidates by his own nomination, on their production of certificates of morality and good conduct. It was soon found that candidates who could produce excellent certificates of morality often turned out utterly incapable students.* The normal schools gradually recovered themselves in public estimation; and the jealousy of their over-ambitious studies abated. The Minister, M. Fortoul, found himself constrained to re-establish some examination at entrance;† but that which he instituted was no longer competitive, and bore only on the most elementary branches of knowledge. This examination still subsists; it is conducted by the Academy inspector of the district, and excludes from the normal school the utterly incompetent. Those who pass it successfully, who are not less than 18 years old, and not more than 22, who produce good certificates of conduct, and who take an engagement to continue for at least ten years in the service of public primary instruction, are then, as before, nominated by the prefect if he thinks fit, within the limits of the numbers fixed by the Minister for each normal school. It is the prefect, also, who nominates to scholarships and to portions of scholarships on the favourable report of the *Commission de Surveillance*, which, named by the rector on the proposition of the departmental council, has in each normal school the special charge of the discipline and progress of the students. A student who at the end of the year is judged unfit to pass to the course of the following year, is discharged‡ from the training school.

The training-school examinations are not those which determine the award of the certificate of capacity. To adjudge this, there sits twice a year, in the chief town of every department, an examination-commission§ named by the departmental council,

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* "Beaucoup arrivaient possédant à peine les premiers éléments de l'instruction, et "nullement préparés pour suivre avec fruit les cours de l'école. Il en résultait un affaiblissement des études dangereux pour l'avenir de l'instruction primaire."—*Manuel de Législation et d'Administration de l'Instruction primaire*, p. 157.

† See his circular to the rectors, February 2nd, 1855.

‡ The prefect dismisses, *sur l'avis du directeur, la commission de surveillance entendue.* See *Décret du* 26 Décembre 1855, art. 24, 25.

§ Law of March 15th, 1850, art. 46. Regulated by a ministerial circular of February 15th, 1860.

and consisting of seven members, of whom one must be a primary inspector of the department, one a minister of the same religious persuasion as the candidate, and two functionaries of public or private instruction. The examination, like the normal school course, is limited to the programme of primary school instruction. Any person aged not less than 18 years may appear as a candidate, giving a month's notice of such intention. The examination is oral and written. Exercises in dictation and grammar, handwriting, the four rules of arithmetic (including vulgar and decimal fractions), and in the composition of a narrative or a school-report, are performed by the candidates. For each of these four exercises is allowed a space of time not exceeding three-quarters of an hour. The commission collects and judges these written exercises; the candidate who has failed in them is not allowed to continue his examination any further. Those who have performed them satisfactorily are called up in turn before the commission, and examined orally in reading, religious knowledge, grammar, and arithmetic. The religious examination is always conducted by the minister of the candidate's own persuasion. A quarter of an hour is allowed for each of these oral exercises, and the proper certificate-examination is concluded.*

Those who desire to be examined in all or any of the optional or *facultative* branches of primary instruction, now make known their wishes. A candidate who has passed the obligatory examination with difficulty, is not allowed to be examined any further. The others are examined in those subjects which they select. Teachers who have obtained the simple certificate on a former occasion, may present themselves for examination in the facultative subjects; but they must take all of them. In each subject the examination is oral, and lasts but a quarter of an hour. When all is concluded the commissioners draw up a list, in order of merit, of the candidates who have satisfied them; if they differ in opinion respecting a candidate, the majority decides. This list is then forwarded to the rector, who issues the certificate. There is but one grade of certificate; but on the simple instrument is entered a special mention of those facultative subjects in which the candidate may have elected to be examined, and of the degree of satisfaction which he has given to the examiners.

Fortified with this document, the future teacher, if a member of a religious association, awaits his appointment to a public school of his order by the prefect, on the presentation of his Superior. If a layman, he has his name entered on the list of admissibility,† drawn up yearly for each department by the

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* Women-candidates are also examined in needlework by ladies delegated for this office by the rector. The oral examination of men is public; that of women, private.

† Decree of October 7th, 1850, art. 13.

departmental council, and from which the prefect makes his nominations to lay schools. This list contains notes respecting each name borne on it, and here the students of normal schools reap the benefit of favourable reports on their ability and conduct by the commission of their normal school.

The legislation of 1850, in its hostility to the normal schools and their high training, provided* that a *certificate of stage*, issued by the departmental council to persons who had taught satisfactorily for three years as assistants in public schools authorized to receive them, might henceforth replace the certificate of capacity. This certificate of stage involved no examination, and its introduction threatened to lower the standard of attainment in public teachers. Happily few departmental councils consented to authorize any *stagiary schools* at all; in the few departments where they were established, they proved failures, and they have now been generally abandoned. At the present moment, for the chief teachers of the public schools in France, the obligation of the certificate may be said to be universal.†

I fear I may have wearied you by these details, but for English inspectors and schoolmasters they will not, I think, be without interest. I will remind these, if they are disposed to make light of such an examination as I have described, that the French certificate is not a prize, but an obligation; that it carries no money with it; that it is a negative not a positive test of merit. I will remind the Commissioners, that it is greatly to be doubted whether, if the State imposes the certificate-test on the whole body of its schoolmasters, the negative form be not the most advisable, and even the sole possible. When the test is of this kind, it will generally happen, as I found in the French schools, that the pitch of the master's instruction to his best scholars is higher than that of his certificate-examination. So too, in England, the pitch of a master's instruction, in the upper forms of Rugby or Harrow, is higher than that of the bare degree-examination obligatory upon himself. But in our elementary schools the whole instruction is pitched immeasurably below the scale of attainment demanded as indispensable from our certificated masters; and every stranger who had read our teachers' examination questions, would inevitably be disappointed in our elementary schools. In truth, we impose an examination for honours as our schoolmasters' only access to a bare degree.

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* Law of March 15th, 1850, art. 47.

† In lieu of the regular certificate, the law accepts, besides the certificate of stage above mentioned, the diploma of bachelor of arts, the certificate of entrance from one of the *écoles spéciales*, and the title of actual minister of one of the recognized religious persuasions. (Law of March 15th, 1850.) Ministers of religion hardly ever in France become primary schoolmasters; and the degree of bachelor, or the certificate of entrance into an *école spéciale*, involves a much severer examination than the regular certificate of capacity.

IX.

Let me now, briefly sum up the main points of the French system; and I will then in conclusion attempt, although with great diffidence, to give some estimate of its effects upon the French people.

First, then, with respect to a question which meets every system of education upon the threshold—the great question, shall it be secular or shall it be religious? The French system is religious; not in the sense in which all systems profess to be more or less religious, in inculcating the precepts of a certain universal and indisputable morality; it inculcates the doctrines of morality, in the only way in which the masses of mankind ever admit them, in their connexion with the doctrines of religion. I believe that the French system is right; when I come to speak of Holland I shall have more to say of this matter, and shall perhaps be able to give to the Commissioners some important information on it; at present I content myself with saying that this side the French system has chosen. Here it coincides with the systems of England and Germany. Morality, but dignified, but sublimed by being taught in connexion with religious sentiment;—but legalized, but empowered by being taught in connexion with religious dogma;—this is what the French system makes the indispensable basis of its primary instruction.

But what dogma? Secular education is one; it would be well, no doubt, if religious education could be one also. It would be well, unquestionably, if there reigned everywhere one truly catholic religious faith, embracing all the faithful in a common bond. But the spirit of sect exists; it has committed its deplorable ravages; it is necessary to take account of them. Forcibly to repress it is impossible, except by evoking a spirit more noxious than even the spirit of sect, the spirit of religious persecution. But the French system does not seek divisions; it accepts those that are radical, irreconcilable. All minor shades of division that are not incurably separate, that may without violence to their nature combine, it leaves to combine, it does not deepen by distinguishing them. Protestantism and Roman Catholicism, the great rival systems of authority and inquiry;—Judaism, inveterate in its fated isolation;—these it recognizes as necessary, irreconcilable, religious divisions in a modern State of Western Europe. It recognizes these, but it recognizes no other. In an empire of thirty-six millions it recognizes no other.

Here the English system diverges. In Great Britain, in a population of 21,000,000, it recognizes no less than seven religious incompatibilities. If it followed the French example, it would accept, as denominations essentially distinct, at most only

Anglicanism, non-Anglican Protestantism, Roman Catholicism, Judaism. As it is, it distinguishes Anglican Protestantism, the Biblicalism of the British and Foreign School Society, the Protestantism of Wesleyan Methodism, the Protestantism of the Orthodox Church of Scotland, the Protestantism of the Free Church of Scotland, the Protestantism of the Episcopalian Church of Scotland, and Roman Catholicism.*

But the divergence does not stop here. The French system recognizes certain religious divisions in the population; but it does not divide itself in order to meet them. It maintains its own unity, its own impartiality; in their relations with the State, with the civil power, all denominations have to meet upon a common ground; the State does not make itself denominational, they have to make themselves national. When the Concordat was under discussion, neither supplication nor adroitness could prevail with Napoleon to give to the State itself an exclusive denominational character; he steadily refused to call the Roman Catholic religion the religion of the State; he would only consent to call it, what it undoubtedly was, the religion of the majority of the French nation. State-inspection represents the unity of the civil power, not the divisions of rival sects. It takes care that children learn, in the public schools, each the doctrines of his own religion; but it protects each, in learning these, from the intolerance of the other, and itself remains neutral, that it may check intolerance the better. The State, therefore owes no account to any man of the religious persuasion of its inspectors: for it is not as religious sectaries they have to discharge their duties, but as civil servants; and the moment they begin to discharge them as religious sectaries, they discharge them ill.

In England the State makes itself denominational with the denominations. It offers to them no example of a civil unity in which religious divisions are lost; in which they meet as citizens, though estranged as sectaries. It makes its inspectors Anglican with the Anglicans, Roman Catholic with the Roman Catholics, Orthodox Presbyterian with the Old Church of Scotland, Free Church with the New. It does not hold itself aloof from the religious divisions of the population; it enters into them.

What has been the result? By dint of concession to the denominational spirit, by dint of not maintaining an impartial and unsectarian character, the State, in England, has been betrayed into a thousand anomalies, and has created a system far more irritating to sectarian susceptibilities than if it had regarded none of them. More than four-fifths of the population of France profess Roman Catholicism, and about one three-hundredth part of French inspection is in the hands of Roman Catholic ecclesi-

* We have an eighth class of schools in Poor Law Union Schools; but here the distinction (though perhaps needless) is at any rate based on administrative, not on religious, grounds.

astics. One half of the population of England profess Anglicanism, and more than three-fourths of English inspection is in the hands of Anglican ecclesiastics. I heard the other day of an English National school, aided by public money, the only school in the place, which had for one of its regulations that no child of dissenting parents should be admitted unless he consented to be rebaptized. I saw with my own eyes, the other day, in a British school aided by public money, a printed placard stuck up in a conspicuous place in the school-room, offering a reward of 10*l.* to any Roman Catholic who could prove, by text, ten propositions; such as, that we ought to adore the Virgin Mary, that we ought to pray for the dead, that St. Peter was unmarried, that he ever was Bishop of Rome, and so on. Is it tolerable that such antics should be played in schools on which the grant of public money confers a public character? Would it be possible that they should be played in a public school in France, where the State permits liberty of conscience, but not liberty of persecution? But it is said that the State, in England, has bound itself not to interfere with the management of the schools which it aids. True; but whom does this answer excuse? It excuses the functionaries who administer the system, not the State which made and maintains it. No State has the right thus to shackle its own reason and its own equity.

The French system, having undertaken to put the means of education within its people's reach, has to provide schools and teachers. Here, again, it altogether diverges from ours, which has by no means undertaken to put the means of education within the people's reach, but only to make the best and richest elementary schools better and richer. Should it ever undertake what the French system has undertaken, perhaps it is in the plan for the provision of schools, that it will find its predecessor happiest. Where everything is left to be done by voluntary effort, schools where most needed are not established at all. Where everything, again, is left to be done by the State, there is wasteful extravagance and local apathy. Where everything, finally, is left to be done by the parish, there is niggardly pinching. I read the other day that in Canada the great difficulty in the rating system there followed is that the local boards starve their schools. The French plan places its schools chiefly, but not absolutely, in the hands of local boards; it tempers the parsimony of the parish with the more liberal views of the central power; and between the parish contributor and the State contributor it places a third contributor of less narrow spirit than the first, of more economical spirit than the second,—the Department or County.

I am bound to add, however, that in one most important particular, its provision for teachers, the French system has recoiled, through fear of expense, from making adequate use of the machinery at its disposal. The best authorities are all agreed that the fixed salary of the teacher was put by the law of 1833 too low, and that the law of 1850 ought to have raised it directly, instead of attempting, in a circuitous manner, to provide a

palliative for its insufficiency. At present the lay teachers tend to quit their profession as soon as they can for some more profitable career; if it were not for the inducement offered by the exemption from military service it would be difficult to recruit their ranks. It is in vain that the State offers to them the lure of honourable mentions, medals of bronze and of silver,* and even the rank of Academic officer, with the privilege of wearing an official coat with a palm embroidered on the collar;† these public distinctions to the teacher are excellent, but they are of no avail so long as he is utterly underpaid.

The State has provided schools and teachers; under what authority shall it place them? Of inspection, the great guarantee of efficiency, it has abundance; it has first inspectors-general, then rectors and Academy inspectors, then primary inspectors, then cantonal delegates, then the parish authorities, the mayor and the minister of the persuasion followed by the scholars. But what authority shall give effect to the representations of all this inspection? Local school-committees, said the law of 1833; rectors of Academies, representing the Department of Public Instruction, said the law of 1852; the prefect, representing the Home Department, says the present law. The local school-committees had undoubtedly performed their work ill. Perhaps in England a well-chosen county-committee might safely be entrusted with the functions which in France, under the law of 1833, the district committee performed so unsatisfactorily; but to give them to the more narrowly local body, to the communal committee, to the parish vestry, would be to destroy your school-system, however promising. The Canadian report which I just now quoted, says that another of the great difficulties with which the public school-system of Canada has to contend, is the utter unfitness of the local school-commissioners for their functions. To superintend the actual expenditure of money voted, to inspect, and to report to a higher authority, is the proper province of the parochial committee. It cannot safely be trusted with full powers over the teacher. The most liberal persons in France consider it proved, by the working of the law of 1833, that, for public schools, it is expedient to give the ultimate power of confirming or dismissing the teacher to some central authority. With us, indeed, the central Government has no power to get rid of a schoolmaster, the most destructive or the most negligent. It can dismiss a school-inspector, but it cannot dismiss a school-teacher. Our system provides its chief Educational Shepherd with abundant resources against his own watch-dogs; with none against the wolf. In France, the local committees no longer retain powers which they showed themselves unfit to exercise.

* In the year 1857, (the latest for which I have any returns), the sum spent by the State on medals for teachers was 2,728 fr. 70. c.

† *Décret du* 9 Décembre 1850.

But from the local committees to the prefect is a prodigious step. The prefect and the Home Department, stern authorities of police and public order, are scarcely the proper authorities for dealing with schools and teachers, unless some actual breach of the law has been committed. The Ministry of Public Instruction, with its Academies and rectors, is in some sort a literary department of State; and with this character it has something of the humanity of letters. The teachers themselves would prefer the government of the rector to that of the prefect. It is true that the prefect almost invariably acts on the advice of the rector's representative, the Academy inspector; but the rector himself, and the Minister his superior, are much the fittest persons to act upon this advice, and would act upon it with quite sufficient stringency.

The machinery of French inspection is perhaps a little redundant. It is found impossible to obtain from the cantonal delegates, unpaid and with occupations of their own, that regular intervention in the details of primary instruction which the Government solicits from them. Possibly, if they gave it, it might be found to bring with it as many difficulties as advantages. A general supervision, with the office of keeping the higher school-authorities informed, so that the teacher may feel that neither his efforts nor his negligence escape notice; this is, perhaps, all that can be judiciously asked of the local authorities, or that they can properly give. All above the cantonal delegates is excellent. The primary inspectors are the very life of the school-system; their inspection is a reality, because made when not expected; the Nancy inspector who went round the schools of that town with me, had a pass-key by which he let himself into any one of them when he pleased, and he told me that he entered every public school in the town fifty times in the year. The Academy inspectors, receiving the reports of the primary inspectors, and themselves in connexion with the sixteen Academies of France, supply local centres for dealing with the mass of details received from the primary inspectors, and thus relieve the central office in Paris. The four inspectors-general, in personal communication with the school authorities, the primary inspectors, and the Minister, preserve the latter from the danger of falling a victim to the routine of his own bureaux, while he also obtains from four picked and superior men a unity of appreciation of school-matters, which he would seek for in vain from the 275 primary inspectors, chosen necessarily with less advantage of selection. If I were asked to name the four deficiencies most unanimously remarked in our system by the most competent foreign judges whom I met, they would be these:—first, the want of district centres for managing the current details of school-business, and the consequent inundation of our London office with the whole of them; secondly, the inconceivable prohibition to our primary inspectors to inspect without previous notice; thirdly, the denial of access, into the ranks of the

primary inspectors, to the most capable public schoolmasters; fourthly, and above all, the want of inspectors-general.

Having established schools with due safeguards, does the French system compel the children of France to enter them? It does not; in France, education is not compulsory. A few advocates for making it so I met with; but, in the opinion of most of those with whom I conversed, the difficulties are insuperable. Perhaps, for a Government to be able to force its people to school, that people must either be generally well-off, as in America; or placid and docile, as in Germany; or ardently desirous of knowledge, as in Greece. But the masses in France, like the masses in England, are by no means well off, are stirring and self-willed, are not the least in the world bookish. The gradual rise in their wealth and comfort is the only obligation which can be safely relied on to draw such people to school. What Government can do, is to provide sufficient and proper schools to receive them as they arrive.

In what numbers have they yet, in France, actually arrived in the public schools, what proportion of the population remains wholly untaught, what sort of education do those who are taught carry away with them? These are questions, which, as I have told you, cannot all of them at present be satisfactorily answered. I believe, however, that the great mass of the population now passes, at some time or other, through the schools. It is an indisputable fact that the attendance in the schools for adults has been for some time falling off, because the actual adult population has grown up in possession of the elementary knowledge which these schools offer. It is great thing that the primary schools do actually exist almost everywhere in France; they are there, they are always at the population's service, without long journeys, without high fees, without unjust conditions. It is something, that the demand for children's labour is as yet considerably less in agricultural France than in manufacturing England. But I should be deceiving you if I led you to suppose that the French people exhibits any real ardour in seeking education for its children, or that the bait of the gain to be drawn from his child's labour is, when offered, one whit better resisted by a French than by an English parent. Nay, in the great manufacturing region of France, in the Department of the North, public opinion and positive law prove far less powerful than in England to contend with the cupidity of the employer, the necessities of the employed. The French law prescribes that the child's day, in a manufactory, shall be of ten hours; the law is not observed; the child works habitually for twelve. Of these ten hours the law commands that two at least shall be given to schooling; when these two hours are given at all, the master habitually makes the child's day, already of twelve hours in defiance of the law, of fourteen hours, in order not to lose the time taken for schooling. In hardly any of the manufactories is there a school

for the children employed.* In the towns without great manufactures, and in the agricultural districts, more children do, I believe, attend school than in similar places in England. But even these attend very irregularly, and are very easily withdrawn; there are just the same complaints from the French inspectors as from the English of the desertion of schools in summer and autumn. I have looked through the returns, for a number of departments, of the declarations made by conscripts, when drawn for the army, as to their own ability to read and write; the number of those declaring themselves unable to do either is remarkable, and contrasts strangely with the alleged attendance of the primary schools. It is true that conscripts show almost always an impulse, upon these occasions, to cheapen themselves as much as possible, and to acknowledge nothing which may make them more eligible objects for a service which they try to escape. Officers have assured me that men often turned out to be able to read and write perfectly well, who when drawn had declared themselves incapable of doing either. But it is true, also, that many a peasant boy does actually lose all his school-learning between the day when he leaves school, and the day when he is drawn for the army; he is not the least studious by nature, and his class are not the least studious; they have an incorrigible preference for the knowledge to be acquired at the cabaret, at the village ball, in the great world, over that to be acquired in solitude and from books. Even when fully retained, the instruction carried away from a French primary school is also, undoubtedly, most elementary; although, as I have before said, not quite so elementary as one who merely reads the programme in the law would think; and although not, in my opinion, more elementary than, at present, the instruction offered by a State like France or like England to all its people, ought to be and must be. Still, unquestionably, as regards the actual school-learning of the French peasant, the merit of the French system is more in its probable future than in its actual past or present:—the schools are there.

X.

Yet,—and I now come to the last of the topics which I undertook to treat,—I am convinced that, small as may be the result yet produced in actual school-learning by the school-legislation of France, the result which it has produced upon the temper and intelligence of the population has not been unimportant. But I shall have need of all your indulgence while I attempt to exhibit this important but somewhat impalpable result.

* I have great pleasure in saying that M. Magin mentioned to me, as a signal exception, a manufactory at Coudekerke-Branche, near Dunkirk, belonging to an Englishman, in which there is an excellent school for both the girls and the boys employed on the establishment.

The intelligence of the French people is well known; in spite of their serious faults, in spite of their almost incredible ignorance, it places them among the very foremost of ancient or modern nations. It is the source of their highest virtue (for the bravery of this people is rather a physical than a moral virtue), of a certain natural equity of spirit in matters where most other nations are intolerant and fanatical. I suppose that this intelligence is a thing not altogether peculiar and innate in the people of France; if it were, the upper classes, adding high culture to this exclusive natural gift, would exhibit over the upper classes of other nations a superiority of which they certainly have not given proof. If it is culture which developes this intelligence in the higher ranks of all nations, then of some culture or other the French masses, in spite of their want of book-learning, must be feeling the beneficent operation, if they show an intelligence which the masses of other nations do not possess. This culture, they do actually receive it; many influences are at work in France which tend to impart it to them; amongst these influences, I number their school-legislation.

This works partly by its form, partly by its spirit. By its form it educates the national intelligence, no otherwise than as all French legislation tends thus to educate it; but even this is worth noticing. It is not a light thing that the law, which speaks to all men, should speak an intelligible human language, and speak it well. Reason delights in rigorous order, lucid clearness, and simple statement. Reason abhors devious intricacy, confused obscurity, and prolix repetition. It is not unimportant to the reason of a nation, whether the form and text of its laws present the characters which reason delights in, or the characters which reason abhors. Certainly the text of an English Act of Parliament never carried to an uneducated English mind anything but bewilderment. I have myself heard a French peasant quote the Code Napoleon; it is in every one's hands; it is its rational form, hardly less than its rational spirit, that the Code has to thank for a popularity which makes half the nations of Europe desirous to adopt it. If English law breathed in its spirit the wisdom of angels, its form would make it to foreign nations inaccessible. The style and diction of all the modern legislation of France are the same as those of the Code. Let the Commissioners compare, in their style and diction alone, M. Guizot's education law, printed at the end of this Report, with the well-known bill of a most sincere and intelligent friend of English education, Sir John Pakington. Certainly neither was the French law drawn by M. Guizot himself, nor the English bill by Sir John Pakington; each speaks the current language of its national legislation. But the French law (with a little necessary formality, it is true,) speaks the language of modern Europe; the English bill speaks the language of the Middle Ages, and speaks it ill. I assert that the rational intelligible speech of this great public voice of her laws has a directly favourable effect upon the general reason and intelligence of France.

From the form I pass to the spirit. With still more confidence I say,—It is not a light thing for the reason and equity of a nation that her laws should boldly utter prescriptions which are reasonable and equitable. It is not a light thing for the spread among the French masses of a wise and moderate spirit on the vital and vexed questions of religion and education, that the law of 1833 should say firmly, *Le vœu des pères de famille sera toujours consulté et suivi en ce qui concerne la participation de leurs enfants à l'instruction religieuse.* It is not a light thing that the whole body of modern French legislation on these critical questions should hold a language equally firm, equally liberal. To this it is owing, that in a sphere where the popular cry, in other countries, either cannot be relied on, or is sure to be wrong, there exists in France a genial current of sound public opinion, blowing steadily in the right quarter. To this it is owing, that from dangers which perpetually thwart and threaten intellectual growth in other countries, intellectual growth in France is comparatively secure. To this, finally, it is owing, that even on questions beyond this sphere,—if they assume a sufficient generality and do not demand a large knowledge of particular facts, of which the mass of Frenchmen is deplorably ignorant,—the habit of intelligence continues in the French people to be active and to enlighten. It is with truth that M. Guizot says in his latest work,—"C'est la grandeur de notre "pays que *les esprits ont besoin d'être satisfaits en même temps* "*que les intérêts.*"*

I wish to make perfectly clear to you what I mean. I am by no means praising the whole legislation of the French State. I am by no means praising the general principle of action by which the State, in France, has been guided. There are many points on which it has not informed its people at all. There are many points on which it has informed them ill. It is possible—(this is a fair matter for discussion)—that, even although on some points it has informed them well, it may have made them pay, for that information, too high a price. What I say is, that on certain capital points the State in France has by its legislation and administration exercised a directly educative influence upon the reason and equity of its people,† and that of this influence the mental temper of the French people does actually show the fruits.

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* *Memoires*, vol. ii. p. 235.

† To give a curious practical instance. In Corsica, the position of the woman had for years been that of a mere beast of burden. In order to raise it, the French Government determined to put the elementary schools of the island in her hands. Under M. Fortoul's administration a normal school for young women was established at Ajaccio, and 18,000 francs a-year granted for its support. Wherever it was possible, the charge of the primary school was given to a mistress. At first the men strenuously resisted for their children the degradation of being taught by that inferior creature, a woman; but the Government stood firm. Women are now established in charge of a great number of the schools of Corsica, and the consideration and respect paid to the sex has notably increased.

Again: Corsican vengeance is proverbial. In the hope of creating in the young generation a better sentiment, the Government has, in all the schools of the island, covered the walls with texts inculcating forgiveness of injuries, and against private revenge.

It would be an interesting, but far too lengthy task, to inquire into the causes which have prevented the State, in England, from performing these educative functions towards the intelligence of its people. The State in England has shown neither taste nor aptitude for the practice of government as a profound and elaborate art; it has done what was absolutely indispensable, and has left its people to do the rest, if it could, for itself.

Its people has willingly acquiesced in a non-interference agreeable to its independent spirit, and in great measure imposed by its mistrust. Doubtless, the vigour of the national character has under this state of things greatly benefited. Yet it has its inconveniences. The State in England administers so little, so much dreads the suspicion of undue usurpation, that, when occasionally called upon to administer on a great scale, it finds its organism cramped by disuse and apprehension; it moves as a man, whose limbs had been bound for years, would move when first set free and told to walk. The people, with no help from a power greater than its own, with no suggestions from an intelligence higher than its own, fails in functions for which the intelligence and power of an ordinary individual are not sufficient. How often one is forced to say of it, when one sees it attempting these functions, that it seems, "*propter* libertatem *libertatis* "*perdere causas*;"—to have won the mechanism of free institutions through its energy, to lack the means of turning them to good account through its ignorance! How often may one observe, in any local community in England, that almost everything which individual energy has to do, is well done; almost everything which the collective reason of the community has to do, is ill done! Still there are some remarkable instances in which, even in England, the national intelligence has been positively influenced by the action of Government. The legislation of free trade,—at first established, not in virtue of an irresistible national conviction, but by the initiative of a great Minister and by the exertions of an active party which, though numerous and intelligent, was still a party,—has ended by itself creating in its own favour that national sentiment which it did not find, and by educating public opinion on Political Economy in a sense which the best judges pronounce sound, and to a height to which the public opinion of no other nation has yet been educated. But matters of trade and commerce concern the direct material interests of a nation. With these every government must perforce deal; and here, besides, the English State is on a ground which it imagines solid and secure. With the moral and spiritual interests of a nation Governments find themselves less imperiously called to deal; and here, besides, the English State is on a ground which it imagines shifting and unsafe. It deals with them as little as it can; it sometimes deals with them as if it was the organ of the popular clamour which shouts one thing to-day and another to-morrow; it hardly ever deals with them as if it was *the organ of the national reason.*

It even appears unconscious or incredulous that on these

matters a national reason exists. It treats all opinions as of an equal value, and seems to think that the irrational, if expressed as loudly as the rational, must weigh with it as much. It seems not to believe that an opinion has any inherent weakness by virtue of being absurd, or that, in confronting it, the strength of superior reason is really any strength at all. Its proceedings in this respect are in very remarkable contrast with those of the State in France. I will give an example of what I mean, and to find it I will not go beyond the subject of education.

In dealing with education, a Government must often meet with questions on which there are two opposite opinions, and both rational. If it is wise, it will invariably treat such opinions with due respect, and will be guided, in deciding between them, by the character of the times, the state of the circumstances, the dispositions of its people. Shall public education be in the hands of the clergy or in the hands of the laity?—shall the instruction given in primary schools be exclusively secular or shall it be also religious?—here are two questions, upon each of which opposite opinions, both having a ground of reason, may fairly be maintained. In inclining to either, in abandoning its own inclinations on the side of either, a Government may be taking a course which reason sanctions; at any rate it is giving victory or defeat to arguments of which reason can take cognizance. The national intelligence can at least follow it in its operations. But a Government, in dealing with education, will also sometimes meet with opinions which have no ground in reason, which are mere crotchets, or mere prejudices, or mere passions. Will it have the clearness of vision to discern whether they are such, or the courage, if they are, to treat them as such?—that is the question. Will it encourage and illuminate the national intelligence by firmly treating what is unintelligent as unintelligent, what is fanatical as fanatical, in spite of the loudness with which it may be clamoured? or will it wound and baffle and confuse the national intelligence by treating what is unintelligent as if it were intelligent, as if it were a real power, as respectfully to be parleyed with, as possible to be inclined to, as reason herself? You will be conscious that the State has sometimes followed, in England, the latter course.

Now I say that, in France, about such an objection as this, the State would not hesitate one moment; it would boldly (to use a French expression) pass over its body. It will be rejoined, I know, that in France the State is absolute, and can crush unreason or reason as it pleases. But this is an error. Among the many remarkable words recorded of the first Napoleon, none are more remarkable than those in which, on more than one occasion, he pointed out the limits to the power of the State in France, the limits even to a power such as his own. Of representative institutions, he said, he might allow as little as he pleased; after the anarchy of the Revolution, the nation was demanding a strong government. With the spirit of revolution with the spirit of reaction, with all party spirit, he might, with

firmness, deal as he pleased; priestly intolerance, Voltairian intolerance, he was strong enough to disregard; only one force even *he* was not strong enough to disregard, and that was a great force of rational and respectable sentiment in the mass of the French people. Happy for him had he always remembered his own words! Happy if he had not pursued an extravagant and personal policy till he made all the rational sentiment of France, if not warmly hostile to him, yet coldly indifferent! But what he said is true; it is impossible for the State, in modern France, to go counter to a great current of rational sentiment. It must, in its acts, have its stand upon some ground of reason, and it can afford to treat cheaply only unreason. When a priest demands to rebaptize dissenters admitted to a public school, when a dissenter demands to be exempted from school-taxation because it hurts his conscience to help to maintain schools in which may be taught a religion which he dislikes, such pretensions as these the French State treats as phantoms which it may confidently disdain,—for they are *irrational.*

I say, then, in conclusion, that at the present moment the French government offers to its people a national system of education, which, though very unpretending, is all that a Government can prudently attempt to make universal—a system fixing a low level, certainly, of popular instruction, but one which the mounting tide of national wealth and well-being will inevitably push up higher. I say, that this system is so framed as not only not to favour popular unreason or popular intolerance, but positively to encourage and educate popular reason and popular equity. In England, meanwhile, what is the system of education offered to our people by its Government? A system not national, which has undoubtedly done much for superior primary instruction, but which for elementary primary instruction has done very little. That it may accomplish something important for the latter, some have conceived the project of making it national. Against this project there are, it seems to me, grave objections. It is a grave objection, that the system is over-centralized—that it is too negligent of local machinery—that it is inordinately expensive. It is a graver, that to make it national would be to make national a system not salutary to the national character in the very points where that character most needs a salutary corrective;—a system which, to the loud blasts of unreason and intolerance, sends forth no certain counterblast;—which submissively accompanies the hatefullest and most barren of all kinds of dispute, religious dispute, into its smallest channels;—stereotypes every crotchet, every prejudice, every division, by recognizing it; and suggests to its recipients no higher rationality than it finds in them.

LIBRA

APPENDIX.—FRANCE.

DÉCRET SUR L'ORGANISATION DE L'INSTRUCTION PRIMAIRE.—3 Brumaire, An 4 (25 Octobre 1795).

Titre 1.—*Écoles primaires.*

Art. 1. Il sera établi dans chaque canton de la République une ou plusieurs écoles primaires, dont les arrondissemens seront déterminés par les administrations de département.

2. Il sera établi dans chaque département plusieurs jurys d'instruction : le nombre de ces jurys sera de six au plus, et chacun sera composé de trois membres nommés par l'administration départementale.

3. Les instituteurs primaires seront examinés par l'un des jurys d'instruction, et sur la présentation des administrations municipales ; ils seront nommés par les administrations de département.

4. Ils ne pourront être destitués que par le concours des mêmes administrations, de l'avis d'un jury d'instruction, et après avoir été entendus.

5. Dans chaque école primaire on enseignera à lire, à écrire, à calculer, et les élémens de la morale républicaine.

6. Il sera fourni par la République, à chaque instituteur primaire, un local tant pour lui servir de logement, que pour recevoir les élèves pendant la durée des leçons.

Il sera également fourni à chaque instituteur le jardin qui se trouverait attenant à ce local. Lorsque les administrations de département le jugeront plus convenable, il sera alloué à l'instituteur une somme annuelle, pour lui tenir lieu du logement et du jardin susdits.

7. Ils pourront, ainsi que les professeurs des écoles centrales et spéciales, cumuler traitement et pensions.

8. Les instituteurs primaires recevront de chacun de leurs élèves une rétribution annuelle, qui sera fixée par l'administration de département.

9. L'administration municipale pourra exempter de celle rétribution un quart des élèves de chaque école primaire pour cause d'indigence.

10. Les règlemens relatifs au régime des écoles primaires seront arrêtés par les administrations de département, et soumis à l'approbation du directoire exécutif.

11. Les administrations municipales surveilleront immédiatement les écoles primaires, et y maintiendront l'exécution des lois et des arrêtés des administrations supérieures.

LOI SUR L'INSTRUCTION PRIMAIRE.—28 Juin 1833.

Titre 1.—*De l'Instruction primaire et de son objet.*

Art. 1.

L'instruction primaire est élémentaire ou supérieure.

L'instruction primaire élémentaire comprend nécessairement l'instruction morale et religieuse, la lecture, l'écriture, les éléments de la langue française et du calcul, le système légal des poids et mesures.

L'instruction primaire supérieure comprend nécessairement, en outre, les éléments de la géométrie et ses applications usuelles, spécialement le dessin linéaire et l'arpentage, des notions des sciences physiques et de l'histoire naturelle applicables aux usages de la vie, le chant, les éléments de l'histoire et de la géographie, et surtout de l'histoire et de la géographie de la France.

Selon les besoins et les ressources des localités, l'instruction primaire pourra recevoir les développements qui seront jugés convenables.

Art. 2.

Le vœu des pères de famille sera toujours consulté et suivi en ce qui concerne la participation le leurs enfants à l'instruction religieuse.

Art. 3.

L'instruction primaire est privée ou publique.

Titre 2.—*Des Ecoles primaires privées.*

Art. 4.

Tout individu âgé de dix-huit ans accomplis pourra exercer la profession d'instituteur primaire et diriger tout établissement quelconque d'instruction primaire, sans autres conditions que de présenter préalablement au maire de la commune ou il voudra tenir école,—

1. Un brevet de capacité obtenu, après examen, selon le dégré de l'école qu'il veut établir.

2. Un certificat constatant que l'impétrant est digne, par sa moralité, de se livrer à l'enseignement. Ce certificat sera délivré sur l'attestation de trois conseillers municipaux, par le maire de la commune ou de chacune des communes ou il aura résidé depuis trois ans.

Art. 5.

Sont incapables de tenir école,—

1. Les condamnés à des peines afflictives ou infamantes.

2. Les condamnés pour vol, escroquerie, banqueroute, abus de confiance ou attentat aux mœurs, et les individus qui auront été privés par jugement de tout ou partie des droits de famille mentionnés aux paragraphes 5 et 6 de l'article 42 du Code pénal.

3. Les individus interdits en exécution de l'article 7 de la presente loi.

Art. 6.

Quiconque aura ouvert une école primaire en contravention à l'article 5, ou sans avoir satisfait aux conditions prescrites par l'article 4 de la presente loi, sera poursuivir devant le tribunal correctionnel du lieu du délit, et condamné à une amende de cinquante à deux cents francs; l'école sera fermée. En cas de récidive, le délinquant sera condamné à un emprisonnement de quinze à trente jours et à une amende de cent à quatre cents francs.

Art. 7.

Tout instituteur privé, sur la demande du comité mentionné dans l'article 19 de la presente loi, ou sur la poursuite d'office du ministère public, pourra être traduit, pour cause d'inconduite ou d'immoralité, devant le tribunal civil de l'arrondissement, et être interdit de l'exercice de sa profession à temps ou à toujours.

Le tribunal entendra les parties, et statuera sommairement en chambre du conseil. Il en sera de même sur l'appel, qui devra être interjeté dans le délai de dix jours, à compter du jour de la notification du jugement, et qui en aucun cas ne sera suspensif.

Le tout sans préjudice des poursuites qui pourraient avoir lieu pour crimes, délits ou contraventions prévus par les lois.

Titre 3.—*Des Écoles primaires publiques.*

Art. 8.

Les écoles primaires publiques sont celles qu'entretiennent, en tout ou en partie, les communes, les départements, ou l'état.

Art. 9.

Toute commune est tenue, soit par elle-même, soit en se réunissant à une ou plusieurs communes voisines, d'entretenir au moins une école primaire élémentaire.

Dans le cas où les circonstances locales le permettraient, le Ministre de l'Instruction publique pourra, après avoir entendu le conseil municipal, autoriser, à titres d'écoles communales, des écoles plus particulièrement affectées à l'un des cultes reconnus par l'état.

Art. 10.

Les communes chefs-lieux de département, et celles dont la population excède six mille âmes, devront avoir en outre une école primaire supérieure.

Art. 11.

Tout département sera tenu d'entretenir une école normale primaire, soit par lui-même, soit en se réunissant à un ou plusieurs départements voisins.

Les conseils généraux délibéreront sur les moyens d'assurer l'entretien des écoles normales primaires. Ils délibéreront également sur la réunion de plusieurs départements pour l'entretien d'une seule école normale. Cette réunion devra être autorisée par ordonnance royale.

Art. 12.

Il sera fourni à tout instituteur communal,—

1. Un local convenablement disposé, tant pour lui servir d'habitation que pour recevoir les élèves.

2. Un traitement fixe qui ne pourra être moindre de deux cents francs pour une école primaire élémentaire, et de quatre cents francs pour une école primaire supérieure.

Art. 13.

A défaut de fondations, donations, ou legs, qui assurent un local et un traitement, conformément à l'article précédent, le conseil municipal délibérera sur les moyens d'y pourvoir.

En cas d'insuffisance des revenus ordinaires pour l'établissement des écoles primaires élémentaires et supérieures, il y sera pourvu au moyen d'une imposition spéciale, votée par le conseil municipal, ou, à défaut du vote de ce conseil, établie par ordonnance royale. Cette imposition, qui devra être autorisée chaque année par la loi de finances, ne pourra excéder trois centimes additionnels au principal des contributions foncière, personnelle et mobilière.

Lorsque des communes n'auront pu, soit isolément, soit par la réunion de plusieurs d'entre elles, procurer un local et assurer le traitement au moyen de cette contribution de trois centimes, il sera pourvu aux dépenses reconnues nécessaires à l'instruction primaire, et, en cas d'insuffisance des fonds départementaux, par une imposition speciale, votée par le conseil général du département, ou à défaut du vote de ce conseil, établie par ordonnance royale. Cette imposition, qui devra être autorisée chaque année par la loi de finances, ne pourra excéder deux centimes additionnels au principal des contributions foncière, personnelle et mobilière.

Si les centimes ainsi imposés aux communes et aux départements ne suffisent pas aux besoins de l'instruction primaire, le Ministre de l'Instruction publique y pourvoira au moyen d'une subvention prélevée sur le crédit qui sera porté annuellement pour l'instruction primaire au budget de l'État.

Chaque année il sera annexé à la proposition du budget un rapport détaillé sur l'emploi des fonds alloués pour l'année précédente.

Art. 14.

En sus du traitement fixe, l'instituteur communal recevra une rétribution mensuelle, dont le taux sera réglé par le conseil municipal et qui sera perçue dans la même forme et selon les mêmes règles que les contributions publiques directes. Le rôle en sera recouvrable, mois par mois, sur un état des élèves, certifié par l'instituteur, visé par le maire, et rendu exécutoire par le sous-préfet.

Le recouvrement de la rétribution ne donnera lieu qu'au remboursement des frais par la commune, sans aucune remise au profit des agents de la perception.

Seront admis gratuitement dans l'école communale élémentaire ceux des élèves de la commune ou des communes réunies que les conseils municipaux auront designés comme ne pouvant payer aucune rétribution.

Dans les écoles primaires supérieures un nombre de places gratuites, déterminé par le conseil municipal, pourra être réservé pour les enfants qui, après concours, auront été designés par le comité d'instruction primaire, dans les familles qui seront hors d'état de payer la rétribution.

Art. 15.

Il sera établi dans chaque département une caisse d'épargne et de prévoyance en faveur des instituteurs primaires communaux.

Les statuts de ces caisses d'épargne seront déterminés par des ordonnances royales.

Cette caisse sera formée par une retenue annulle d'un vingtième sur le traitement fixe de chaque instituteur communal. Le montant de la retenue sera placé au compte ouvert au trésor royal pour les caisses d'épargne et de prévoyance ; les intérêts de ces fonds seront capitalisés tous les six mois. Le produit total de la retenue exercée sur chaque instituteur lui sera rendu à l'époque où il se retirera, et, en cas de décès dans l'exercice de ses fonctions, à sa veuve, ou à ses héritiers.

Dans aucun cas, il ne pourra être ajouté aucune subvention, sur les fonds de l'état, à cette caisse d'épargne et de prévoyance ; mais elle pourra, dans les formes et selon les règles prescrites pour les établissements d'utilité publique, recevoir des dons et legs dont l'emploi, à défaut de dispositions des donateurs ou des testateurs, sera réglé par le conseil général.

Art. 16.

Nul ne pourra être nommé instituteur communal, s'il ne remplit les conditions de capacité et de moralité prescrites par l'article 4 de la presente loi, pu s'il se trouve dans un des cas prévus par l'article 5.

Titre 4.—Des Autorités préposées à l'Instruction primaire.

Art. 17.

Il y aura près de chaque école communale un comité local de surveillance composé du maire ou adjoint, président, du curé ou pasteur, et d'un ou plusieurs habitants notables désignés par le comité d'arrondissement.

Dans les communes dont la population est répartie entre différents cultes reconnus par l'Etat, le curé ou le plus ancien des curés, et un des ministres de chacun des autres cultes, désigné par son consistoire, feront partie du comité communal de surveillance.

Plusieurs écoles de la même commune pourront être réunies sous la surveillance du même comité.

Lorsqu'en vertu de l'article 9 plusieurs communes se seront réunies pour entretenir une école, le comité d'arrondissement désignera, dans chaque commune un ou plusieurs habitants notables pour faire partie du comité. Le maire de chacune des communes fera en outre partie du comité.

Sur le rapport du comité d'arrondissement, le Ministre de l'Instruction publique pourra dissoudre un comité local de surveillance et le remplacer par un comité spécial, dans lequel personne ne sera compris de droit.

Art. 18.

Il sera formé dans chaque arrondissement de sous-préfecture un comité spécialement chargé de surveiller et d'encourager l'instruction primaire.

Le Ministre de l'Instruction publique pourra, suivant la population et les besoins des localités, établir dans le même arrondissement plusieurs comités, dont il déterminera la circonscription par cantons isolés ou agglomérés.

Art. 19.

Sont membres des comités d'arrondissement : —

Le maire du chef-lieu ou le plus ancien des maires du chef-lieu de la circonscription.

Le juge de paix ou le plus ancien des juges de paix de la circonscription.

Le curé ou le plus ancien des curés de la circonscription.

Un ministre de chacun des autres cultes reconnus par le loi, qui exercera dans la circonscription, et qui aura été désigné comme il est dit au second paragraphe de l'article 17.

Un proviseur, principal de collège, professeur, régent, chef d'institution, ou maître de pension, désigné par le Ministre de l'Instruction publique, lorsqu'il existera des collèges, institutions, ou pensions dans la circonscription du comité.

Un instituteur primaire, résidant dans la circonscription du comité, et désigné par le Ministre de l'Instruction publique.

Trois membres du conseil d'arrondissement, ou habitants notables désignés par le dit conseil ;

Les membres du conseil général du département, qui auront leur domicile réel dans la circonscription du comité.

Le préfet préside de droit tous les comités du département, et le sous-préfet tous ceux de l'arrondissement ; le procureur du roi est membre de droit de tous les comités de l'arrondissement.

Le comité choisit tous les ans son vice-président et son secrétaire ; il peut prendre celui-ci hors de son sein. Le secrétaire, lorsqu'il est choisi hors du comité, en devient membre par sa nomination.

Art. 20.

Les comités s'assembleront au moins une fois par mois. Ils pourront être convoqués extraordinairement sur la demande d'un délégué du Ministre : ce délégué assistera à la délibération.

Les comités ne pourront délibérer s'il n'y a au moins cinq membres présents pour les comités d'arrondissement, et trois pour les comités communaux ; en cas de partage, le président aura voix prépondérante.

Les fonctions de notables qui font partie des comités dureront trois ans ; ils seront indéfiniment rééligibles.

Art. 21.

Le comité communal a inspection sur les écoles publiques ou privées de la commune. Il veille à la salubrité des écoles et au maintien de la discipline, sans préjudice des attributions du maire en matière de police municipale.

Il s'assure qu'il a été pourvu à l'enseignement gratuit des enfants pauvres.

Il arrête un état des enfants qui ne reçoivent l'instruction primaire ni à domicile, ni dans les écoles publiques ou privées.

Il fait connaître au comité d'arrondissement les divers besoins de la commune sous le rapport de l'instruction primaire.

En cas d'urgence, et sur la plainte du comité communal, le maire peut ordonner provisoirement que l'instituteur sera suspendu de ses fonctions, à la charge de rendre compte dans les vingt-quatre heures, au comité d'arrondissement, de cette suspension et des motifs qui l'ont déterminée.

Le conseil municipal présente au comité d'arrondissement les candidats pour les écoles publiques après avoir préalablement pris l'avis du comité communal.

Art. 22.

Le comité d'arrondissement inspecte, et, au besoin, fait inspecter par des délégués pris parmi ses membres ou hors de son sein, toutes les écoles primaires de son ressort. Lorsque les délégués ont été choisis par lui, hors de son sein, ils ont droit d'assister à ses séances avec voix délibérative.

Lorsqu'il le juge nécessaire, il réunit plusieurs écoles de la même commune sous la surveillance du même comité, ainsi qu'il à été prescrit à l'article 17.

Il envoie chaque année au préfet et au Ministre de l'Instruction publique l'état de situation de toutes les écoles primaires du ressort.

Il donne son avis sur les secours et les encouragements à accorder à l'instruction primaire.

Il provoque les réformes et les améliorations nécessaires.

Il nomme les instituteurs communaux sur la présentation du conseil municipal, procède à leur installation, et reçoit leur serment.

Les instituteurs communaux doivent être institués par le Ministre de l'Instruction publique.

Art. 23.

En cas de négligence habituelle, ou de faute grave de l'instituteur communal, le comité d'arrondissement, ou d'office, ou sur la plainte adressée par le comité communal, mande l'instituteur inculpé ; après l'avoir entendu, ou dûment appelé, il le réprimande ou le suspend pour un mois avec ou sans privation de traitement, ou même le révoque de ses fonctions.

L'instituteur frappé d'une révocation pourra se pourvoir devant le Ministre de l'Instruction publique, en Conseil royal. Ce pourvoi devra être formé dans le délai d'un mois, à partir de la notification de la décision du comité, de laquelle notification il sera dressé procès verbal par le maire de la commune. Toutefois, la décision du comité est exécutoire par provision.

Pendant la suspension de l'instituteur, son traitement, s'il en est privé, sera laissé à la disposition du conseil municipal, pour être alloué, s'il y a lieu, à un instituteur remplaçant.

Art. 24.

Les dispositions de l'article 7 de la présente loi, relatives aux instituteurs privés, sont applicables aux instituteurs communaux.

Art. 25.

Il y aura dans chaque département une ou plusieurs commissions d'instruction primaire, chargées d'examiner tous les aspirants aux brevets de capacité, soit pour l'instruction primaire élémentaire, soit pour l'instruction primaire supérieure, et qui délivreront les dits brevets sous l'autorité du Ministre. Ces commissions seront également chargées de faire les examens d'entrée et de sortie des élèves de l'école normale primaire.

Les membres de ces commissions seront nommés par le Ministre de l'Instruction publique.

Les examens auront lieu publiquement, et à des époques déterminées par le Ministre de l'Instruction publique.

I.—GENERAL

Showing the Progress of STATE-EXPENDITURE

——	1809.	1812.	1815.	1818.
	Fr. c.	Fr. c.	Fr. c.	Fr. c.
Faculties of Law - -	50,000 00	50,000 00	32,000 00	38,000 00[b]
Faculties of Medicine - -	264,611 74[b]	250,000 00	170,000 00	—
Secondary Instruction -	1,746,768 00	1,200,000 00	1,010,305 90	1,789,260 22
Primary Instruction - -	- -	4,250 00	- -	67,868 20
Institute - - - -	397,465 00	400,000 00	385,334 85	399,992 05
College of France - -	124,744 00	128,000 00	113,120 00	107,692 03
Museum of Natural History	299,583 00	300,000 00	225,141 55	280,000 00
Bureau of Longitudes - -	120,000 00	120,000 00	102,799 00	100,659 96
Imperial Library - -	174,434 00	200,000 00	153,814 74	200,000 00
Mazarine Library - -	21,963 00	28,000 00	22,158 23	33,999 31
Arsenal Library - -	32,301 00	49,000 00	35,105 56	34,974 48
Ste. Geneviève Library -	23,260 00	26,000 00	24,376 30	32,999 48
Academy of Medicine -	- -	- -	- -	- -
School of Oriental Languages and *École des Chartes.*	31,739 00	40,000 00	34,916 20	32,243 96
Encouragement to Sciences and Fine Arts.	141,239 00	150,000 00	87,671 62	74,564 63
Subscriptions to important Literary and Scientific Works.	124,251 00	120,000 00	106,032 40	165,573 15
Payments to Artists - -	38,700 00	37,000 00	36,200 00	43,150 00
Total [d] - - -	3,591,058 74	3,142,250 00	2,488,976 35	3,400,977 47

(a) This and the three Tables following are extracted from *Le Budget de l'Instruction Publique*, par Charles Jourdain, chef de division au Ministère de l'instruction publique et des cultes; Paris, 1857.

(b) Divided between the faculties of Law and Medicine.

TABLE [a]

on PUBLIC INSTRUCTION from 1809 to 1834.

1821.	1824.	1827.	1829.	1832.	1834.
Fr. c.	Fr. c.	Fr. c.	Fr. c.	Fr. c.	Fr. c.
—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—
1,794,924 86	1,768,107 31	1,741,117 25	1,725,000 00	1,587,942 91	1,689,856 19
58,630 37	49,387 45	44,473 85	99,677 00	984,979 29	1,501,296 91
459,994 62	421,991 48	424,994 81	425,439 43	420,543 09	496,785 20
112,357 29	111,756 62	116,939 05	119,047 85	134,044 20	126,079 97
334,008 00	325,000 01	335,246 33	338,041 30	337,471 59	369,255 18
121,405 54	114,900 54	113,999 55	113,699 36	114,932 51	105,999 60
205,710 00	201,160 34	202,930 00	205,000 00	204,333 22	267,681 65
- - [c]	34,999 68	34,999 68	34,999 68	33,999 01	35,000 00
32,999 56	32,999 56	32,710 87	32,833 30	33,000 00	35,000 80
37,000 00	37,000 00	37,000 00	36,999 36	37,999 88	39,499 83
- -	22,183 93	40,739 27	39,945 22	39,999 93	41,999 85
37,790 02	43,751 97	44,989 58	47,896 47	51,856 89	55,276 01
94,655 31	132,368 00	61,209 97	72,693 00	77,832 67	174,345 21
169,615 67	146,679 66	98,866 50	132,490 70	135,595 70	96,628 55
49,800 00	49,250 00	48,750 00	50,050 00	49,250 00	48,908 32
3,508,991 24	3,491,536 55	3,379,166 71	3,473,812 67	4,243,770 99	5,033,013 27

(c) In 1821 the expense of the *Bibliothèque Mazarine* is included in that of the Institute.

(d) The expense of the central administration is not shown in the above table. This was for 1835, 471,278 fr. 22c. ; for 1845, 524,037fr. 54c. ; for 1855, 638,312fr. 66c.

II.

TABLE of STATE-EXPENDITURE on PRIMARY INSTRUCTION, from 1835 to 1855.

Years.	Ordinary and Obligatory Expenditure.		Extraordinary Expenditure.		Special Expenditure.		Total.	
	Fr.	c.	Fr.	c.	Fr.	c.	Fr.	c.
1835	541,164	25	1,040,639	14	-	-	1,591,803	39
1836	616,182	32	982,590	62	-	-	1,598,772	94
1837	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,596,222	56
1838	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,596,780	38
1839	573,642	97	1,026,574	80	-	-	1,600,217	77
1840	612,570	34	982,557	49	-	-	1,595,127	83
1841	624,815	13	1,357,053	63	-	-	1,981,868	76
1842	636,112	97	1,355,570	06	-	-	1,991,683	03
1843	665,147	74	1,423,814	17	-	-	2,088,961	91
1844	728,686	65	1,670348	63	-	-	2,399,035	28
1845	776,076	73	1,619,625	77	-	-	2,395,702	50
1846	799,824	46	1,599,984	38	-	-	2,399,808	94
1847	915,653	65	1,483,962	55	-	-	2,399,616	20
1848	1,996,363	20	1,460,524	45	4,999	20	3,461,886	85
1849	1,030,773	96	4,799,069	69	-	-	5,829,823	65
1850	995,991	96	4,324,487	92	39,043	17	5,359,543	05
1851	3,443,705	80	1,842,190	29	38,175	83	5,324,071	92
1852	3,559,112	43	1,893,109	77	47,766	92	5,499,989	12
1853	3,589,567	63	1,719,563	82	33,668	55	5,342,800	00
1854	3,595,564	97	1,740,808	56	54,617	69	5,390,991	22
1855	3,581,814	84	1,389,618	32	58,541	71	5,029,974	87

III.

TABLE of DEPARTMENTAL EXPENDITURE on PRIMARY INSTRUCTION, from 1835 to 1855.

Years.	Ordinary Expenditure.	Extraordinary Expenditure.	Arrears of Expenditure.	Total.
	Fr.	Fr. c.	Fr. c.	Fr. c.
1835	-	- -	- -	2,888,912 59
1836	-	- -	- -	3,231,162 63
1837	-	- -	- -	3,859,541 82
1838	-	- -	- -	3,873,412 46
1839	2,684,249 85	1,309,832 04	21,696 42	4,015,778 05
1840	2,694,661 72	1,387,039 71	18,704 37	4,100,405 80
1841	2,749,371 66	1,328,014 73	22,262 08	4,099,648 47
1842	2,753,521 73	1,326,638 70	26,230 75	4,106,391 18
1843	2,760,351 57	1,231,747 50	48,381 14	4,040,480 61
1844	2,787,351 79	1,477,541 90	135,016 86	4,399,432 52
1845	2,809,240 77	1,570,118 87	24,531 11	4,404,313 75
1846	2,852,387 61	1,477,063 87	49,022 39	4,378,528 50
1847	2,913,810 89	1,504,891 11	98,920 66	4,517,622 66
1848	2,898,545 39	1,440,029 97	86,960 02	4,425,535 38
1849	2,945,891 32	1,496,387 74	105,418 41	4,547,697 47
1850	2,877,364 14	1,541,864 04	117,299 92	4,536,528 10
1851	4,015,381 47	720,131 75	116,154 04	4,851,667 26
1852	4,188,100 72	1,177,145 29	165,803 14	5,531,049 15
1853	4,241,405 79	1,201,318 13	94,646 89	5,537,370 81
1854	4,232,409 47	1,227,288 90	75,484 59	5,535,182 96
1855	4,134,418 18	1,088,828 77	189,619 71	5,412,866 66

IV.

TABLE showing SUMMARY of STATE, DEPARTMENTAL, and COMMUNAL [a] EXPENDITURE on PRIMARY INSTRUCTION for the Years 1837, 1846, 1850, 1852, and 1855.

Nature of Receipts and Expenses.	1837.	1846.	1850.	1852.	1855.
	Fr. c.	Fr. c.	Fr. c.	Fr. c.	Fr. c.
Received by school-fees -	8,619,433 0	9,623,704 0	8,745,408 40	8,776,626 27	8,981,817 22
Expenses charged on the Communes - -	7,217,864 85	8,511,805 0	9,876,708 99	10,710,465 93	11,564,465 72
Expenses charged on the Departments -	3,859,541 82	4,378,528 50	4,536,528 10	5,531,049 15	5,412,866 66
Expenses charged on the State - -	1,835,567 15	2,898,914 21	5,945,970 19	6,241,122 05	5,737,957 60
Expenses charged on the resources of the Primary Normal Schools [b]	255,898 09	555,280 77	482,854 55	439,059 0	513,712 16
Totals -	21,788,304 91	25,968,232 48	29,587,470 23	31,698,322 40	32,210,819 36

(a) This Table is incomplete as regards the Communes, their extraordinary expenditure on their school-buildings not being included in it. This expenditure averages six times the annual grant of the State for the same object. I believe I may say that the figures given in the body of my report represent the whole expenditure, for a recent year, upon French primary instruction, more completely than any other statistics accessible in a printed form.

(b) The proceeds of all property of which the Primary Normal Schools are, by bequest or endowment, the possessors, are received by the State, which afterwards pays them back as a separate contribution to the expenses of primary instruction.

V.

TABLE [a] showing the NUMBER of CRIMINALS accused, acquitted, and condemned, in FRANCE, from 1826 to 1850.

Years.	Population according to the Census of each Period.	Accused.	Acquitted.	Condemned.
1826		6,988	2,640	4,348
1827	31,857,961	6,929	2,693	4,236
1828		7,396	2,845	4,551
1829		7,373	2,898	4,475
1830		6,962	2,832	4,130
				21,740
1831		7,606	3,508	4,098
1832	32,561,463	8,237	3,592	4,645
1833		7,315	3,118	4,197
1834		6,952	2,791	4,161
1835		7,223	2,825	4,398
				21,499
1836	33,540,910	7,232	2,609	4,623
1837		8,094	2,977	5,117
1838		8,014	2,853	5,161
1839		7,858	2,795	5,063
1840		8,226	2,750	5,476
				25,440
1841		7,462	2,446	5,016
1842	34,230,178	6,953	2,251	4,702
1843		7,226	2,342	4,884
1844		7,195	2,295	4,900
1845		6,685	2,234	4,451
				23,953
1846		6,908	2,275	4,633
1847	35,401,761	8,704	2,873	5,831
1848		7,352	3,048	4,304
1849		6,983	2,774	4,209
1850		7,202	2,696	4,506
		185,075	68,960	23,483
				116,115

(*) Extracted from *Rapport présenté au Prince Président de la République, par le Garde des Sceaux, sur l'Administration de la Justice Criminelle en France, pendant les années* 1826 *à* 1850; Paris, September 1852.

RÈGLEMENT pour les ÉCOLES COMMUNALES LAÏQUES de GARÇONS de la VILLE de PARIS.

Extrait de la Délibération du Conseil Académique de la Seine, en date du 23 Juillet 1852.

I.—TABLEAU DE L'EMPLOI DU TEMPS.

Heures.	1RE CLASSE.	Heures.	2ME CLASSE.
8.30	OUVERTURE DE L'ÉCOLE, ARRIVÉE DES MAÎTRES. Les élèves se réunissent dans les préaux.		
9	PRIÈRE : *Notre Père; Je vous salue, Marie ; Je crois en Dieu ; Je confesse à Dieu.*	9	PRIÈRE : *Notre Père; Je vous salue, Marie ; Je crois en Dieu ; Je confesse à Dieu.*
	INSTRUCTION MORALE ET RELIGIEUSE. Tous les jours.		INSTRUCTION MORALE ET RELIGIEUSE. Leçon tous les jours, de même que sur les facultés suivantes.
10	LANGUE FRANÇAISE. Tous les jours.	10	LECTURE. ORTHOGRAPHE pour les élèves les plus avancés.
11	ÉCRITURE : Lundi. Mercredi. Vendredi. — HISTOIRE ET GÉOGRAPHIE : Mardi. Jeudi. Samedi.	11	ÉCRITURE.
12	PRIÈRE : *O divin Jésus.* Déjeuner et Récréation dans les préaux. GYMNASTIQUE trois fois la semaine.	12	PRIÈRE : *O divin Jésus.* Déjeuner et Récréation dans les préaux.
1	PRIÈRE : *Venez, Esprit-Saint.* ARITHMÈTIQUE ET SYSTÈME-MÉTRIQUE. Tous les jours.	1	PRIÈRE : *Venez, Esprit-Saint.* CALCUL.
2	DESSIN LINÉAIRE : Lundi. Mercredi. Vendredi. — EXPLICATIONS et INTERROGATIONS sur les Lectures précédents : Mardi. Samedi.	2	ÉCRITURE. DESSIN LINÉAIRE pour les élèves les plus avancés.
3	LECTURE : Mardi. Samedi. — CHANT : Lundi. Mercredi. Vendredi.	3	LECTURE.
4	PRIÈRE : *Pater, Ave, Credo, Confiteor.* CHANT DU *DOMINE.*	4	PRIÈRE : *Pater, Ave, Credo, Confiteor.* CHANT DU *DOMINE.*
	DÉPART DES ÉLÈVES.		

La prière doit être dite par l'instituteur lui-même une fois par jour, au moins.

Les Dimanches et jours de fêtes, les élèves seront conduits par l'instituteur à la messe désignée par le curé de la paroisse.—Une disposition analogue est applicable aux instituteurs des écoles spéciales des cultes non catholiques.

Le Jeudi, il y aura classe jusqu'à midi seulement.

INDICATION DU TEMPS CONSACRÉ, EN SOMME,

à chaque enseignement, par semaine.

——	1re CLASSE.	2me CLASSE.	——
	Heures.	Heures.	
Instruction morale et religieuse	6	6	
Lecture - - -	4	11	
Écriture - - -	3	11	
Langue française - -	6	"	ORTHOGRAPHE, 6 heures pour les élèves les plus avancés.
Arithmétique et Système métrique.	5	5	
Dessin linéaire - -	3	"	5 heures pour les élèves les plus avancés.
Chant - - -	3	"	
Histoire et Géographie -	3	"	
	33 heures	33 heures	

NOTA.—La gymnastique a lieu pendant les récréations.

II.—MODE D'ENSEIGNEMENT.

Première Classe.

La première classe, celle des élèves avancés, sera dirigée selon le mode simultané ; l'enseignement y sera donné directement par l'instituteur.

Cependant, pour plusieurs facultés dans lesquelles les élèves sont ordinairement de forces inégales, et doivent faire des devoirs différents, telles que l'arithmétique et l'orthographe, on formera plusieurs divisions qui recevront successivement leçon du maître.

Avant son arrivée dans une division, ou après qu'il y aura donné leçon, le maître sera remplacé par un moniteur.

Seconde Classe.

Pour la partie la plus élémentaire de l'enseignement donné dans la seconde classe, ou classe des commençants, des moniteurs seront employés. On prendra, pour en remplir les fonctions, et à tour de rôle, les élèves de la classe avancée.

Cependant des élèves non encore admis dans cette dernière classe seront utilisés comme moniteurs, s'ils sont capables de l'être, et s'ils reçoivent tous les jours, sur ce qu'ils enseignent, une leçon directe du maître.

L'autre partie de l'enseignement, dans la seconde classe, sera donnée par le maître lui-même, comme il va être dit dans les articles suivants.

III.—Procédés d'Enseignement à suivre dans la Seconde Classe.

1° Instruction morale et religieuse.

Prières.

Un moniteur placé à l'estrade récitera à haute voix, lentement, et plusieurs fois, la prière qui lui sera indiquée par l'instituteur.

Les élèves qui ne savent pas lire, placés dans les bancs, devant le moniteur, l'écouteront (première demi-heure), et plusieurs d'entre eux devront, à la fin de cet exercice, réciter successivement la prière enseignée (seconde demi-heure).

Catéchisme et Histoire-Sainte.

Quant aux élèves qui savent lire, ils étudieront individuellement, aux bancs, le catéchisme et l'histoire-sainte (première demi-heure).

Ils réciteront ensuite au maître (seconde demi-heure).

2° Lecture.

Aux groupes, devant les tableaux, pour les commençants.

Epellation avec l'aide du moniteur (première demi-heure).

Commencement de lecture courante dans la partie du tableau qui aura été épelée (seconde demi-heure).

Pour les élèves plus avancés dans la lecture des tableaux, l'épellation n'aura plus lieu, on emploiera le procédé de lecture courante seulement.

Aux tables, dans les livres.

Les élèves arrivés à la lecture courante dans les livres, seront réunis aux tables, en divisions plus ou moins nombreuses, pour y être exercés par le maître, suivant le mode simultané, à la lecture à haute voix.

3° Écriture.

L'enseignement de l'écriture aura lieu sur modèles, sans dictées, dans toutes les divisions de la classe.

La correction sera continue ; elle sera faite par le maître, secondé de quelques moniteurs.

4° Orthographe.

Il y aura pour les élèves les plus avancés de la seconde classe enseignement de l'orthographe au moyen de dictées graduées, d'explications données par le maître, de corrections par l'épellation et de copies de ces dictées.

5° Calcul.

Enseignement de la Numération.

L'enseignement de la numération sera donné au tableau noir avec le secours de tableaux gradués contenant d'abord les cent premiers nombres dans l'ordre naturel ; les suivants, des nombres de trois chiffres ; d'autres, des nombres de quatre chiffres ; enfin, les derniers, des nombres de un, deux, trois, et quatre chiffres, alternativement ; et l'on fera usage avec ces tableaux des deux procédés suivants :

Énonciation par les élèves, avec l'aide du moniteur, des nombres qui leur seront indiqués (première demi-heure).

Ecriture sur le tableau noir, par les élèves, des nombres qu'ils entendront énoncer par le moniteur (seconde demi-heure).

Les élèves passeront à l'addition quand ils sauront énoncer et écrire des nombres de quatre chiffres. Ensuite, l'enseignement de la numération aura lieu conjointement avec celui des quatre règles.

Enseignement des quatre Règles.

Le moniteur ayant énoncé les nombres sur lesquels il s'agit d'opérer et un élève les ayant écrits sur le tableau noir, chaque élève du groupe, à son tour, avec l'aide du moniteur, fera une partie différente de l'opération.

On opèrera ensuite de même sur d'autres nombres (première demi-heure).

Des nombres étant encore énoncés et écrits, les élèves opèreront successivement, mais sans être aidés (seconde demi-heure).

Indépendamment des groupes autour de la salle, on formera aux bancs, pour les élèves les plus avancés, des divisions plus ou moins nombreuses, où le travail, en calcul, se fera sous la direction du maître, suivant les procédés du mode simultané.

6° Dessin linéaire.

Aux groupes, sur les tableaux noirs.

Le maître ou le moniteur commencera par dessiner lui-même, à main levée, la figure à copier, et il la nommera.

Chaque élève du groupe la tracera à son tour.

On opèrera ensuite de même pour d'autres figures (première demi-heure).

La figure à dessiner sera seulement nommée par le moniteur, et montrée par lui sur le tableau modèle.

L'élève désigné la dessinera.

Ensuite, même opération sur d'autres figures (seconde demi-heure).

La correction sera effectuée par le maître ou par le moniteur à l'aide des instruments.

7° Sont maintenues toutes les autres prescriptions actuellement observées dans les écoles communales laïques de garçons à Paris, et contenues dans les anciens règlements, concernant l'admission des élèves, l'ordre, la discipline, la propreté, le service de santé, les récompenses, les congés, les examens, les registres, et tous les devoirs des instituteurs.

Pour extrait conforme :

Le Recteur de l'Académie de la Seine,

Signé CAŸX.

SWITZERLAND.

I arrived in Switzerland at the end of June, and found the primary schools just closed for the holidays. Holidays are long in Switzerland, and I could not wait there until they should be over. The Normal School at Lausanne—the only normal school in French Switzerland — was also closed. To see the Swiss schools in actual operation, therefore, I found impossible.

I regretted this the less because there is no dispute as to the quality of these schools, which in Geneva, Vaud, and Neufchâtel, are confessedly among the best in Europe. Schools exist everywhere; they are well supplied with efficient teachers and most numerously attended.* As to the actual merit of the schools themselves there exist, therefore, no doubts requiring a personal inspection to resolve them. What I wished to learn was, the system under which these schools were established, the degree of completeness with which that system had fulfilled the designs which its authors had in view, and the influence which this system, combined with the other circumstances of their condition, tends to exercise upon the population.

This I could learn, even though the schools were in vacation. Both at Geneva and at Lausanne I had the advantage of consulting persons among the best informed and the most intelligent in Europe, to whom private letters of introduction had given me access. Recommended by the kind offices of the British Minister and the British Consul to the Government authorities, I received from them the most courteous attention, and official information which they alone could command. At Lausanne I had the pleasure of conversing with the Presidentof the Council of State, with the Councillor at the head of the Department of Public Instruction, and with the Director of the Normal School, on the state of popular education in the important Canton of Vaud. At Geneva, M. Piguet, the Councillor of State charged with the Department of Public Instruction, not only gave me oral information of the greatest value, but had the kindness to procure for me the whole body of printed documents relating to public education in the French Cantons. These I have carefully studied, and of that study I now proceed to state briefly the result, controlled by the explanations with which I was furnished on the spot.

I have to speak of five Cantons:—Geneva, Vaud, Fribourg, Neufchâtel, and the Valais. Of these, Geneva has a population of 66,000; Vaud, of 206,000; Fribourg of 100,000; Neufchâtel,

* For a view of the present situation of primary instruction in all the principal Cantons, both German and French, of Switzerland, see the Table (compiled from official documents) at the end of this Report.

of 80,000; the Valais of from 80 to 90,000. In Geneva, popular instruction has long prospered, although in the Catholic communes added by the Treaty of Vienna to the territory of the Canton it is more backward than in the rest of the State, where Protestantism, ever since the Reformation, has fostered it. In Vaud, likewise, it has long been well cared for. The industrious and thriving Canton of Neufchâtel, which has redoubled its activity since its separation from Prussia, has lately bestowed zealous care upon its primary instruction, and is at present, of all the French Cantons, that in which it most flourishes. Of Fribourg I shall speak presently. The poverty and wretchedness of the Valaisans, which every traveller has noticed, make their primary schools much inferior to those of the four richer French Cantons. But the school-system of all five was, until very recently, the same in its main outlines; it was, in each, a consequence of the triumph of the democratic and anti-clerical party; it was, in most, a system designed to put public education in harmony with the new democratic constitutions established after the war of the Sonderbund, in 1847. It was founded by law in Vaud in 1846, in Geneva and Fribourg in 1848, in the Valais in 1849, in Neufchâtel in 1850. I shall first notice the points in which these laws mostly agree; special points in which they differ I shall notice afterwards.

It is the general scope of all of them to base Swiss education upon the "principles of Christianity and democracy."* Religious instruction is to be given, but it is regarded as the proper province of the minister of religion, not of the schoolmaster; and it is the only part of the instruction with which the minister is permitted to interfere. Into the ordinary school-lessons the teacher is forbidden to introduce anything of religious dogma; the hours for religious instruction are strictly limited, and, if this instruction is given by the teacher at all, it must be at the request and under the responsibility of the minister of religion whose place he thus consents to fill. This Christian and democratic education is generally, also, compulsory and gratuitous. It embraces all young persons from their eighth to their sixteenth year. If children are privately educated, the State must be satisfied that their education is sufficient. They are liable to be called up for examination with the scholars of the public schools, and to be transferred by authority to a public school if their instruction is found inferior. A certificate of emancipation attests that the obligatory course of learning has been duly fulfilled.

The communes provide and maintain the public schools; but the State assists them, when their resources fall short. Every place with more than 20 children of school-age is, as a general rule, bound to have its school. When the number of scholars exceeds 50 or 60, a second school must be established, a third

* See, for instance, the preamble to the school-law of the Canton Vaud;—"Vu l'article "de la Constitution, portant: *L'enseignement dans les écoles publiques sera conforme aux "principes du christianisme et à ceux de la démocratie,*" &c.

when the second school has passed this limit, and so on. Boys and girls attend the same school. Infant-schools the communes are not compelled to establish; but the State recommends their establishment, and aids it.

It is needless to say that this public school system is under the control of the State. The supreme executive of each Canton, the Council of State, delegates its controlling functions to a board of public instruction, consisting of two or three members, and presided over by a Councillor of State. But on any grave matter an appeal lies from this body to the Council of State itself, and it is the Council alone which has the power to dismiss a teacher. Three out of the five Cantons have school-inspectors. Where there are no school-inspectors, their functions are discharged by the members of the board of public instruction, or by a local body, the communal school-committee. This body, consisting generally of from four to seven members, is named by the municipality. The minister of religion is not a member of it, unless the municipality choose to nominate him. The local committee should visit the schools of its commune not less than once a fortnight, besides holding a public general examination of them once a year.

Teachers must be certificated, and their examination for the certificate is conducted by the central board of public instruction. They are afterwards elected to their situations by competition, and have thus a second examination to undergo. This second examination is conducted by the local school-commission. Their salaries are fixed at about 500 francs a-year, with a house and garden.

The instruction given in the primary schools has two or even more degrees.* The subjects taught are religion, reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic and book-keeping, geography, Swiss history, and singing. Instruction is of the elementary or superior degree, according as these subjects are taught with more or less extension. Instruction in both degrees may be given in the same school and by the same master.

In thus regulating popular education the five Cantons generally agree. They do not *exactly* agree, however; and, even where there is agreement in their laws, there is sometimes variety in their practice.

In the Canton of Geneva, instruction is not by law compulsory; in the other four Cantons it is. I was anxious to ascertain exactly in what this compulsoriness of instruction consisted, and how far it was really made effectual. I read in the law that parents not sending their children to school were to be warned, summoned, sentenced to fine or imprisonment, according to their various degrees of negligence; I found due provision made for

* Six in the Canton of Geneva. In this Canton, the scholars who have most distinguished themselves in the two highest degrees may be admitted, on the inspector's attestation, into a public secondary school; and, if poor, may there receive free schooling for one year.—*Règlement général des Écoles primaires et des Écoles moyennes du Canton de Genève*, Geneva, 1859; art. 13, 22, 23.

the recovery, by means of the ordinary tribunals, of such a fine; for the execution, by their means, of such a sentence of imprisonment. I asked myself, as you will ask yourselves,—In the Cantons of Vaud, Fribourg, Neufchâtel, and the Valais, must every child between the ages of 7 and 15 actually be at school all the year round, and, if he is not, are his parents actually punished for it?

In the first place I soon discovered that he need not be at school all the year round. To take one of the poorest of the Cantons, a Canton in which it seemed to me incredible that the compulsory principle should be fully carried out; the Canton Valais. The law of the Canton Valais proclaims that education is compulsory. But it also proclaims that the school-year shall not be of less than—what do the Commissioners suppose?—five months.* It is for five months in the year, then, not for ten, that children in the Valais are obliged to go to school. Again, I take the Canton of Fribourg, and I find that there, also, education is obligatory up to the age of 15. But the law gives power to the inspector to exempt from this obligation of attendance at school children who are sufficiently advanced, and "children whose "labour their parents cannot do without." What a safety-valve to the high pressure of a compulsory system is here! In the Canton of Fribourg, again, the school-vacations, says the law, must not exceed three months in the year.† These are long holidays for primary schools. But I take the largest and richest of all the French Cantons, the Canton of Vaud. In the Canton of Vaud the law makes attendance at school compulsory on all young persons between the ages of seven and sixteen. Are there no exceptions? I go on reading the law, and I find presently that the local school-committee may grant dispensations to all children above twelve years of age whose labour is necessary to their parents. It is made a condition, however, that these children continue to attend school a certain number of times in a week. But the master may grant a child leave of absence for two days in the week, the president of the school-committee may grant him leave for a week at a time, the school-committee itself for a month at a time.‡ Children above twelve years of age, then, may in one way or another get their school-time very much abridged; but, on any children at all, or on any parents, is the obligation written in the law ever actually enforced? At Geneva the best-informed persons did not hesitate to assure me that the obligation of school-attendance in the Canton of Vaud was perfectly illusory. When I mentioned this at Lausanne, it was indignantly denied; I was told that the schools of Vaud were excellently attended, its population almost universally instructed. But of this I had no doubt; so they are everywhere in the prosperous Swiss

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* *Loi sur l'instruction publique*, Sion, 1849; art. 6.—*Règlement du 5 Septembre* 1849 *sur les écoles primaires du Canton du Valais*; art. 29.

† *Loi sur l'instruction publique*, Fribourg, 1848; art. 54, 60, 53.

‡ *Loi du* 12 *Novembre* 1846 *sur l'instruction publique*, Lausanne, 1854; art. 61, 62, 68, 69.

Cantons; so they are in Geneva, where education is not compulsory. What I wanted to find out was, whether the legal obligation was actually put in force to constrain the attendance of children who without such constraint would not have attended; whether in Vaud, where education is compulsory, children went to school, who in Geneva, where it is not compulsory, would have been at work or at home. I could not find that they did. I was told that it was necessary to execute the law with the greatest tact, with the greatest forbearance; but in plain truth I could not discover that it was really executed at all. But perhaps this is because, in Vaud, the children so universally attend school that the executive has no cause of complaint against them, and no infringement of the law ever occurs? By the kindness of the President I was furnished with a copy of the last published Annual Report of the Council of State of Vaud on all the branches of the Cantonal administration. In that part of the Report which relates to schools, I find the following:—"The "number of children attending school has somewhat dimi- "nished; this diminution is probably caused by the introduc- "tion into the Canton of different branches of industry, which "give employment to the children in their neighbourhood, "who are thus drawn off from school. Under these circum- "stances *the Council of Public Instruction has great difficulty* "*in reconciling the consideration due to the wants of poor* "*families with the demands of the law.*" Returns are then given to show that from 1846, the date of the law, to 1858, the date of the Report, the number of children attending school has steadily diminished.* The Report then continues:—"There "is a great number of children who attend no school. Were "the Council of Public Instruction more zealously seconded "by the prefects, the municipalities, and the local school- "committees, the attendance in the primary schools would "not exhibit this serious falling-off. With respect to the atten- "dance at school of those children whose names are actually "on the books, even this leaves much to be desired, in spite of "the efforts of the Council of Public Instruction."

These words are not mine; they are those of the government of the Canton. And this is in presence of a law of compulsory education! What compulsory education is in America and in Germany I cannot tell; in the only place where I have been able to examine it closely, it is what I have described. Not that primary instruction is unprosperous in the Canton of Vaud; on the contrary, it is most flourishing. What I say is, that the making it compulsory by law has not there added one

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* There were at school in—

1846 ..	34,781 children.	1855 ..	30,930 children.
1852 ..	32,853 „	1856 ..	30,717 „
1853 ..	32,061 „	1857 ..	30,615 „
1854 ..	31,720 „	1858 ..	30,484 „

See *Compte rendu par le Conseil d'État du Canton de Vaud sur l'Administration pendant l'année* 1858, *seconde partie*, p. 12.

iota to its prosperity. Its prosperity is due to the general comfort and intelligence of the population; where these are equally present, as in Geneva, the prosperity of education is equal though there is no compulsion; where these fail, the compulsion of the law is powerless to prevent the inevitable check inflicted on education by their absence.

II.

The school-law of French Switzerland generally, prescribes that primary instruction shall be gratuitous; in point of fact it is gratuitous only in Geneva and in the Valais. In Geneva alone are school-books and materials gratuitously supplied to all the scholars. In the other Cantons all but the poor have to purchase these; and in Vaud, Neufchâtel, and Fribourg, the communes are authorized to exact school-fees from all who can afford to pay them, the poor alone having free admission. It must be remembered, however, that in a communal school supported by communal taxation, every family, however poor, contributes something to its support. Where nearly all are poor, as in the Valais, the bare maintenance thus obtained for the school and its teacher must be accepted as sufficient. Where there is wealth, there is a desire to raise the condition of the school and teacher somewhat above this bare maintenance-point. This is effected in Vaud, Neufchâtel, and Fribourg, by levying school-fees upon those scholars who can afford to pay them; it is effected in Geneva by direct grant from the State. The direct State-expenditure on education in the little Canton of Geneva, is on this account much greater than the direct State-expenditure on education in the large Canton of Vaud. In Geneva, in 1859, it was 113,450 francs; in Vaud, in 1858, the last year for which I have any account, it was only 93,002 fr. 50 c.

Perhaps the Canton of Neufchâtel adopts the best course, by leaving those who can afford it to pay their school-fees, while it reserves its own liberality to augment the salaries of the teachers, generally far too low in French Switzerland as in France. In Geneva, indeed, these are much better than in Vaud, Fribourg, or the Valais. In Vaud, where the salaries of teachers have lately been raised, the legal *minimum* of a master's salary is even now fixed at 20*l.* a year, that of a mistress's at 12*l.* a year, the salaries of both rising 2*l.* a-year after ten years' service, 4*l.* a-year after twenty years' service. In Geneva, a master (or *regent* as he is called in Switzerland) has in the town of Geneva itself a fixed salary of 56*l.* a-year, in the other communes of 40*l.* a year; a mistress (or *regentess*) has 36*l.* a-year in the town, 28*l.* in the country. Besides this all teachers in the Canton of Geneva have a *casual*, paid by the State, of threepence a month for every child present in school up to the number of 50 children; twopence a month for every child above that

number.* But in Neufchâtel the State does much more. Municipalities and their school-committees fix the teachers' salaries;† but these salaries the State, on certain conditions, and in a certain combined proportion with the commune, increases as high as 80*l.* a year. This is the salary of a teacher of the highest class, but all teachers, even those of the *Écoles d'hiver*,‡ have their proportionate augmentation. By this means Neufchâtel, though without a normal school of its own, easily procures as its primary teachers the best of the students trained at Lausanne.

This normal school of Lausanne is the only normal school in French Switzerland. It was attended in 1859 by 94 students, 57 of them being young men, 37 young women. It is conducted by a director, to whom I had the pleasure of paying a long visit, and by 11 masters. There is a lady superintendent, with an assistant, to take general charge of the female students, and to teach them needlework and domestic economy. The training school is held in a building which furnishes only lecture-rooms and an office for the director; the students board in the town, at boarding-houses approved and inspected by the director. The course for male students lasts three years, for female students two years. There are no practising schools. The expense of a male student's training is about 14*l.* a-year, that of a female student's about 12*l.* For the last six years the State has on an average allowed to each student 6*l.* a-year towards the expense of his or her training, the rest is paid by the students themselves. From 25 to 30 students go out every year to take charge of schools. The best go to Neufchâtel and Geneva, where the teachers are best paid. Fribourg will probably soon establish a training school of its own; at present it trains its French teachers in private establishments, its German teachers in the training schools of German Switzerland.§

The school-law of every Canton requires the teacher to possess a certificate of capacity. But this requirement is not always enforced. In Vaud, for instance, five years' service in a public school legally exempts a teacher from the obligation of the certificate. But this is not all. I have said that teachers are appointed to schools after a competitive examination, held by the local school-committee. To this examination no candidate can properly be admitted unless entitled by the certificate of capacity or by the five years' service. But, where no such candidates present themselves, the law allows school-committees to examine and elect other persons, who may be provisionally continued without a certificate from year to year for five years, at the end of which term they are exempt, as I have mentioned,

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* *Loi générale sur l'Instruction publique*, Geneva, 1848; art. 101, 102.

† But for the *minimum* which they propose they must obtain the sanction of the Council of State.—*Loi sur l'Instruction primaire*, Neufchâtel, 1850; art. 59.

‡ Schools open during the winter months only; an institution common in Switzerland, and particularly successful in the Canton of Neufchâtel.

§ See *Règlement pour les Écoles Normales du Canton de Vaud*, Lausanne, 1849.

from the obligation of the certificate. Nor is the examination held by the school-committee any effectual substitute for the certificate-examination held by the Central Education Department. The inefficiency of the examinations conducted by the local school-committees I found generally complained of; on the other hand, the certificates granted by the Central Education Department are real guarantees of capacity. The examination for them extends, as in France, only to the subjects taught in the primary schools, and to the art of teaching; but it is serious, and it is conducted by duly qualified persons.

In Vaud and in Neufchâtel the local school-committees are also left to fulfil the functions elsewhere discharged by inspectors; but they supply the want of State-inspection as inefficiently as they supply the want of State-examination. Geneva, Fribourg, and the Valais have inspectors. There are not two opinions as to the value of the services which may be rendered by these functionaries; and they will probably soon be employed by the two Cantons which are now without them.

III.

The school-laws of Geneva and of Neufchâtel appear to me to be superior to those of Vaud and of Fribourg in this,—that their framers had a more single regard to the welfare of primary instruction and to that only, than the framers of the others. The framers of the others undoubtedly had zeal for primary instruction, but zeal for the ascendancy of the democratic party was too strongly present to their minds at the same time. They have, therefore, omitted provisions for the welfare of the schools which were of great importance; they have introduced provisions to bind the individual, which on educational grounds have no necessity, and which sometimes defeat their own object, by making the law which sanctions them intolerable.

This has been the case in Fribourg. Fribourg is a very powerful canton; its population, though fanatical, is exceedingly vigorous. Until the war of 1847, it was in the hands of the clerical party: the issue of the Sonderbund struggle gave full power to the enemies of the clerical party, to the democrats. The new government, knowing its adversaries' strength, procured its own nomination for a period of nine years, and, in order to indoctrinate the population with liberal ideas, instituted, by the law of 1848, a very developed system of primary instruction. But nine years of Radical government, and the law of 1848, were insufficient to convert the stiff-necked people of Fribourg. At the first elections which took place after the struggle of 1847—the elections of 1856, the clerical party regained its ascendancy, the democratic party fell, and the law of 1848 fell with its authors instead of saving them. When you are informed of some of its provisions, you will not, I think, be much surprised at its

fate.* It provided—(in the country of the Père Girard!)—that no religious society, under any denomination whatever, should henceforth be allowed to teach. It provided that, for the future, persons educated by the Jesuits, or by any of the orders affiliated to the Jesuits, should be incapable of holding any office in Church or State. It proclaimed the object of primary schools to be "the "development of man's moral and intellectual faculties in con- "formity with the principles of Christianity and democracy." It imposed a political oath on the schoolmaster. It made instruction obligatory and gratuitous. Lest the rising generation should still escape it, it directed, first, that no child living in the Canton should, under any circumstances whatever, be educated at home. Next, that if it was proposed to educate a child in a private school, the parent must first submit the name of the private school to the inspector and to the communal school-committee for their approval. If this was obtained, the pupil was still bound to attend the public half-yearly examinations of the communal school. If he failed to attend, or if he attended and passed a bad examination, the private school which educated him was to be closed. Finally, the resources of the religious, charitable and grammar-school foundations of communes were henceforth to be made available for the support of primary schools.

This I call the very fanaticism of meddling. But, at the same time, the law instituted an undoubtedly good programme of school-instruction. The reaction swept away both the noxious meddling and the sound programme. By an order dated the 12th of January, 1858, the new Council of State restored foundations to their original uses, relaxed the obligation of attendance at the public schools, gave parents liberty to educate their children at home or in private schools, made the clergyman a necessary member of the local school-committee, freed the teacher from the necessity of taking an oath, raised his salary, and reduced the programme of primary school-instruction.

Reaction and Obscurantism! cry the Liberals. Alas, that Reaction and Obscurantism should sometimes speak the language of moderation and liberty, and that they should invariably cease to speak it the moment they have the power to use, like their adversaries, that of exaggeration and tyranny! For the clerical party in Fribourg this moment has happily not yet arrived. But the future, in Switzerland at any rate, belongs to democracy; and one would gladly see Swiss democracy more rational and more equitable. It has undoubtedly striven to develope popular education; but the spirit in which it has striven for this object has not been without an unfavourable influence upon education itself.

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* *Loi sur l'instruction publique*, Fribourg, 1848; art. 8, 9, 41, 82, 6, 54, 5, 104.—*Règlement pour les Écoles primaires du Canton de Fribourg*, Fribourg, 1850; art. 180, 176, 177, 178, 179.

It is the spirit in which a highly-instructed people lives and works that makes it interesting, not the high instruction itself. Placed between France and Germany, Switzerland is inevitably exposed to influences which tend to prevent her democracy from exercising, unchecked, the pulverising action which democracy exercises in America. But the dominant tendency of modern Swiss democracy is yet not to be regarded without disquietude. It is socialistic, in the sense in which that word expresses a principle hostile to the interests of true society —*the elimination of superiorities.* The most distinguished, the most capable, the most high-minded persons in French Switzerland, are precisely those most excluded from the present direction of affairs; they are living in retirement. Instruction may spread wide among a people which thus ostracises all its best citizens; but it will with difficulty elevate it.

TABLE, showing Comparative Situation of PRIMARY INSTRUC-

CANTONS.	Population in 1859.	Schools and Teachers.	Maximum of Scholars per School.
ZURICH -	260,000	380 schools. 474 teachers. 1 school to every 684 inhabitants, 1 teacher to every 548.	120 scholars. Above that number an under-master.
BERNE - -	470,000	About 1,300 schools. 1 school to every 362 inhabitants.	80, 90, and 100.
FRIBOURG -	100,000	288 schools. 1 school to every 347 inhabitants.	70. Above that a second school.
BASLE-TOWN	31,000 Numbers in school, 1,802. 1 school for 64 children.	28 schools. 1 school to every 1,107 inhabitants.	60 to 90.
ST. GALL -	175,000	384 schools. Catholic 230. Protestant 154. Average — 1 school to every 456 inhabitants.	70 to 90 in Catholic schools. 80 in Protestant schools.
ARGOVIA -	204,000	497 schools. 1 school to every 410 inhabitants.	120 scholars.
NEUFCHÂTEL	80,000	254 schools. 1 school to every 315 inhabitants.	50 to 60. Above that a second school.
GENEVA -	66,000 Numbers in school, 5,110. 1 school to every 68 children; 1 teacher to every 45 children.	75 schools, and 113 masters, mistresses, under-masters and assistants. 1 school to every 880 inhabitants.	20 to 100 scholars and above.
VAUD - -	206,000 Numbers in school, 32,000. 1 school to every 44 children.	754 schools, or masters and mistresses. 1 school to every 273 inhabitants.	60. Above that a second school.

(a) The teacher receives, in addition, half the school-fees, amounting to from 1f. 50c. to 3f. a year, per scholar.

(b) The salary is paid by the State. There is a school-fee of from 40 cents. to 1f. per month, for each child.

TION in the following CANTONS of SWITZERLAND, in 1859.

Minimum of Salaries.	Contribution of State to Salaries.	Contribution of Communes to Salaries.	CANTONS.
525f.; 584f.; 700f.; 800f., and above. (a)	207,057f. for primary instruction, of which 145,000f. for pensions.	?	ZURICH.
500f. There are higher salaries.	270,696f.	360,000f.	BERNE.
600f.	25,000f.	Communes pay, as a rule.	FRIBOURG.
Town.—from 2,028f. to 2,564f. Country. — from 1,000f. to 1,074f.	40,011f. (b)	?	BASLE-TOWN.
420f.; 500f.; up to 1,000f., and above.	25,000f.	Communes pay the salaries.	ST. GALL.
Town.—1,857 f. Country.—528f. and 682f.	100,000f.	270,000f.	ARGOVIA.
600f. 2,000f.	251,329f. for primary instruction, of which 64,690f. for pensions.	Communes, .67,595f. School-fees, .56,567f. Other sources, 19,750f.	NEUFCHÂTEL.
1,000f., 1,400f., and a good *casual* paid by the State.	97,000f. for primary instruction, of which 74,685f. for pensions.	Communes contribute a quarter or half.	GENEVA.
522f., but half the salaries are under this amount. 600f.; 700f.; 800f.; 1,000f. in the towns.	46,666f.	298,377f. (c)	VAUD.

(c) 176 Communes are authorized to receive school contributions.

N.B.—In all these Cantons the teacher has, in addition, a house, and a small piece of ground, or an equivalent.

HOLLAND.

M. Cousin, whose admirable reports on public instruction in Germany and Holland have made the education of those countries so widely known, was inclined to prefer the school-law of Prussia to the school-law of Holland; but for the Dutch primary schools themselves he expressed the highest admiration. The admiration for them expressed by M. Cuvier, who, in 1811, was deputed by the University of France to visit Holland, and to report on its system of public education, was even warmer. The great naturalist speaks unfavourably of the Grammar-schools and Universities of Holland; these, he said, were in some respects beneath criticism. But of the primary schools he said, that they were above all praise. He has described the emotion of astonishment and delight with which on his first entrance into one of them he was struck;* so unlike was it to any school for the poor which he had ever seen, or which at that time was anywhere to be seen out of Holland. For it was in 1811.

The popular instruction of other countries has grown up since that time; but I have seen no primary schools worthy to be matched, even now, with those of Holland. Other far more competent observers have come to the same judgment. It is the school-law which in 1811 M. Cuvier found in operation, which has produced these results. That school-law has lately been altered; of the alterations made in it I will speak presently. They are important, but they are not of a character materially to change the popular education of Holland; even if they were, they are too recent to have yet produced that effect. Up to 1857, the school-law of Holland, the law of 1806, with the four general regulations which accompanied it, subsisted without change. As M. Cuvier found it in 1811, so M. Cousin found it in 1836; the same fruits which it was bearing in 1836, it had been bearing in 1811. How that school-law arose, M. Cuvier's report makes known. This report, which is a perfect model of its kind, and which well deserves reprinting, the Commissioners have probably never seen; for it is not printed in the collection of M. Cuvier's works, it is not to be found even in the library of the British Museum, and it is almost impossible to procure it. I shall therefore repeat, as briefly as I can, the account which it gives of the foundation of the excellent primary instruction of Holland.

Towards the end of the last century, the Dutch schools for the poor resembled those of all other countries; that is to say, they

* "Nous aurions peine," say M. Cuvier and his colleague, M. Noël, "à rendre l'effet "qu'a produit sur nous la première école primaire où nous sommes entrés en Hollande. "—La première vue de cette école nous avait causé une surprise agréable; lorsque "nous fûmes entrés dans tous les détails, nous ne pûmes nous défendre d'une veritable "émotion."

were exceedingly bad. It is remarkable that even in Holland, even in a stronghold of Protestantism,—that Protestantism which is commonly thought to have done so much for the instruction of the people,—primary schools should by explicit testimony be declared to have been, eighty years ago, thus inferior. We should probably hear the same of the schools of Scotland at the same period, had there been any capable person to judge and to tell us of them. Not that the credit which Protestantism has received for its zeal in teaching the people is wholly undeserved; Protestantism had, in truth, the zeal to found schools, but it had not the knowledge to make good schools. In Holland, 80 years ago, there were no schools for the poor, except schools in connexion with the different religious communions; children whose parents were not enrolled members of some church could attend no school at all. But, at any rate, for the children of its own communion Protestantism built schools; there were Protestant schools in connexion with the Protestant churches. In connexion with the Roman Catholic churches there were no schools whatever. But the Protestant schools were under the inspection of the church-deacons, who changed continually, and who had no fixed principles of management; there was no provision for the training of fit teachers; the schoolmasters were ignorant, and the instruction beggarly.

Such was the state of things when, in 1784, John Nieuwenhuysen, a Memnonite minister in North Holland, founded, with the assistance of several friends, the Society for the Public Good. This society proposed, first, to prepare and circulate among the common people useful elementary works, not only on religious and moral subjects, but also on matters of every-day life. This first object it accomplished with such success, that in two or three years an improved calendar published by the society beat the popular calendar, a tissue of absurdities and superstitions, the *Moore's Almanack* of Holland, out of the field. The society's second object was to establish model and temporary schools, with libraries, for the use of workpeople who had left school. It proposed, thirdly, to conduct inquiries into the true principles of the physical and moral education of children, and into school-method.

The society prospered. In 1809 it numbered 7,000 members, and had spread its operations as far as to the Cape of Good Hope. It formed departments in all the localities where it had subscribers, and to these departments it entrusted the inspection and the management of its schools. The government gradually adopted its plans; in 1797, the magistrates of Amsterdam built their public schools in accordance with the suggestions of the two departments of the society established in their city.

In 1801, the celebrated Orientalist, M. Van der Palm, the agent for public instruction in the Batavian Republic, drew up an education-law, which he farther improved in 1803, and which laid the base of the final legislation on this subject. In 1805, M. Schimmelpenninck became Grand-Pensionary, and M. Van der Palm

retired from public life; but his law was the foundation of the law of 1806, proposed by M. Van den Ende, "the father of public "instruction in Holland," who, from 1806 till 1833, directed, as Commissioner acting under the authority of the Minister for the Home Department, the popular education of his country.

The law of 1806 was very short and very simple. It adopted the existing schools: but it did two things, which no other school-law had yet done, and which were the foundations of its eminent success;—it established a thorough system of inspection for the schools, a thorough system of examination for the teachers.

To organize inspection:—this is, in fact, the grand object of the law of 1806; with this it begins, and with this it ends. To keep the system of inspection efficient was the central thought, the paramount aim of its author, up to the very last days of his life, when, a venerable old man, he received M. Cousin at Haarlem in 1836, and said to him,—"Take care how you choose "your inspectors; they are men whom you ought to look for "with a lantern in your hand."* And inspection in Holland was organized with a force and completeness which it has attained nowhere else.

Each province of Holland was formed into a certain number of school-districts, and at the head of each school-district was placed an inspector. The united inspectors of the province formed the provincial commission for primary instruction. This commission met three times a year, and received a report on his district from each inspector who was a member of it. It examined teachers for certificates. It was in communication with the provincial government. Once a year it sent as its deputy one of its members to the Hague, to form with the deputies from other provinces a commission, to discuss and regulate school matters, under the immediate direction of the Minister for the Home Department and his inspector-general. In his own district, by this law, each inspector is supreme; local and municipal school-committees can only be named with his concurrence, and he is the leading member of them all; no teacher, public or private, can be appointed without his authorization; and he inspects every school in his district twice a year. These powerful functionaries were to be named by the State, on the presentation, for the inspectorships of each province, of the assembled commission of inspectors for that province. They were excellently chosen, amongst the laymen and clergymen who had shown an intelligent interest in popular education. Following a practice not rare in Holland, where the public service is esteemed highly honourable, and where the number of persons able and willing to take part in it is greater than in any other country, they gave their services nearly gratuitously. They received allowances for their expenses while engaged in the business of inspection, but

* *De l'Instruction publique en Hollande*, par M. Cousin; Paris, 1837; p. 30.

no salaries. Either they were men with private means, or men exercising at the same time with their inspectorship some other function, which provided them with an income. Their cost to the State was, therefore, very small. There were at first 56 inspectors, whose travelling allowances together amounted to 1,840*l.*; and this sum, with 320*l.* a year for an inspector-general's salary, and with a small charge for the office and travelling expenses of this functionary, was the whole cost to the State of the administration of primary instruction.

Four general regulations accompanied and completed the law of 1806. The provincial and communal administrations were charged to occupy themselves with providing proper means of instruction in their localities, with ensuring to the teacher a comfortable subsistence, with obtaining a regular attendance of the children in the schools; but there were no provisions exacting from the communes an obligatory establishment of schools, a legal *minimum* of salary for teachers; none exacting from the children a compulsory school-attendance. Neither did the State enter into any positive undertaking as to its own grants. In general terms, it reserved to itself the right to take such measures as it should think fit, to improve the teacher's position, and to promote the good instruction of the young. It left the rest to the stimulating action of its inspectors upon provincial and communal administrations singularly well disposed to receive it.

Its confidence was justified. The provincial governments fixed the teacher's salary for each province at a rate, which made the position of the Dutch schoolmaster superior to that of his class in every other country. Free schools for the poor were provided in all the large towns; in the villages, schools which taught the poor gratuitously, but imposed a small admission-fee on those who could afford to pay it. Ministers of religion and lay authorities combined their efforts to draw the children into the schools. The boards which distributed public relief, imposed on its recipients the condition that they should send their children to school. The result was a popular education, which, for extent and solidity combined, has probably never been equalled. Even in 1811, in the reduced Holland of the French Empire, M. Cuvier found 4,451 primary schools, with nearly 200,000 scholars; one in ten of the population being at school. In the province of Groningen the prefect reported, as in 1840 the administration reported in the town of Haarlem, that there was not a child who could not read and write. In Amsterdam there were eleven schools for the poor so well frequented, that candidates for admission to them had to put down their names long beforehand, and scholars who passed out of them were eagerly sought after as servants or apprentices. The deacons'-schools, or private parish schools in connexion with the churches and under the superintendence of the parish deacons, were gradually giving way before the competition of the public schools. The Lutheran deacons'-schools of Amsterdam had recently been closed when M. Cuvier wrote. The village-schools were, as at this day, even more prosperous than the poor-schools of the

towns; for, being attended by children of a somewhat richer class, they gave a somewhat more advanced instruction; the communes however, paid for the schooling of the poor, and the school-fee of the rest was only about a penny a week. In the thriving villages of North Holland, M. Cuvier found large schools of 200 or 300 children, exciting his admiration by the same cleanliness, order, and good instruction which he had witnessed in the towns. School was held for two hours in the morning, two hours in the afternoon, two hours in the evening; the evening school was for old scholars who had gone to work, and was most numerously and diligently attended. Finally, and this M. Cuvier justly thought one of the grand causes of the success of the Dutch schools, the position of the schoolmasters was most advantageous. Municipalities and parents were alike favourable to them, and held them and their profession in an honour which then, probably, fell to their lot nowhere else. Hardly a village schoolmaster was to be found with a salary of less than 40*l.* a year; in the towns many had from 120*l.* to 160*l.*, and even more than that sum; all had, besides, a house and garden. The fruits of this comfort and consideration were to be seen, as they are remarkably to be seen even at the present day, in the good manners, the good address, the self-respect without presumption, of the Dutch teachers. They are never servile, and never offensive.

The teacher in Holland, in order to enter his profession, had to obtain a *general admission*. To exercise it, he needed a *special admission*. The general admission was obtained by successfully passing the certificate-examination. There were four grades of certificate: to be appointed either a public or a private schoolmaster in the towns it was necessary to hold a certificate of the first or second grade; the first grade could be attained by no one who was not twenty-five years old. The third grade qualified a teacher to hold a village school. The fourth grade was reserved for under-masters and assistants. The examination for the higher grades was considerably higher than the certificate-examinations of France, considerably lower than ours, for which, indeed, with its twelve hours of written exercises in mathematics alone,* it would be difficult to find a parallel. But the Dutch regulation, instructing the examiners to admit to the highest grade those candidates only who gave signs of a *distinguished culture*, assigned to the schoolmaster's training a humanizing and educating direction, which is precisely what we, with our exaggerated demand for masses of hard information, have completely missed. School-methods also, and pedagogic aptitude, occupied more space in the Dutch examination than in the French or in ours.

The teacher had now his general admission. If he wished to become a public teacher, he presented himself as a candidate for some vacant public mastership, and underwent a competitive

* Lately reduced, I am happy to say, to nine.

examination. This second examination I found in Switzerland also; it exists neither in France nor amongst ourselves. If successful, the teacher then received his special admission. Of the judges who examined him for this, the law made the inspector of the district necessarily one; if dissatisfied with the decision of his colleagues, the inspector had the right of appealing against it to the Minister. For special admission as a private teacher no second examination was necessary. But the candidate required the authorization of the municipality; and this authorization was not granted except with the inspector's concurrence.

The legislation of 1806 did not institute normal schools. How, then, was an efficient body of schoolmasters formed? It was formed by permitting, in the schools of the Society for the Public Good, the best scholars to stay on at school for two or three years longer than usual, without paying, on condition that they acted as teachers; these became, first, assistants; then, under-masters; finally, head masters. Great eagerness was manifested to be nominated one of these retained scholars. M. Cuvier found this system in operation when he visited Holland, and he speaks warmly of its success. It was the first serious attempt to form a body of regularly trained masters for primary schools. In our eyes it should have a special interest: we owe to it the institution of Pupil-teachers.

Finally, under the legislation of 1806 it was not permitted to public schools to be denominational. The law required that the instruction in them should be such as to "train its recipients "for the exercise of all social and Christian virtues," but no dogmatic religious instruction was to be given by the teacher, or was to be given in the school. Measures were to be taken, however, said the law, that the scholar should not go without the dogmatic teaching of the communion to which he belonged. Accordingly, the Minister for the Home Department exhorted by circular the ministers of the different communions to co-operate with the government in carrying the new law into execution, by taking upon themselves the religious instruction of the school-children belonging to their persuasion. The religious authorities replied favourably to this appeal. They willingly took upon themselves the task required of them; and nowhere, perhaps, has the instruction of the people been more eminently religious than in Holland, while the public schools have remained, by law, unsectarian. M. Cuvier found that the school children, in 1811, were taught the dogmatic part of their religion on Sundays, in church, by their own minister; that on Saturdays, when Jews were absent, they were instructed in school by the schoolmaster in the New Testament and the life of Christ; on other days, in the truths common to all religions. M. Cousin found, in 1836, the same avoidance of dogmatic teaching in the Dutch schools, the same prevalence of sound religious instruction among the Dutch people.

M. Cuvier concludes his report by pointing out the foundation on which the excellent school-system of Holland appeared to him to repose. It reposed, he said, upon three things; the comfort

of the schoolmaster, the effectiveness of the inspection, the superiority of the school-methods. To these three advantages the Dutch schools still owe their prosperity.

II.

M. Cousin, in 1836, found two important modifications introduced into the school-system of Holland since the visit of M. Cuvier. M. Cuvier had noticed with approbation the mode of training schoolmasters which I have above described; in truth, this was a more careful mode of training them than any which at that time was pursued elsewhere: but it left something to be desired; it was not yet the training of the Normal School. Normal schools were established in 1816, under the auspices of M. Van den Ende. One was placed at Haarlem, for Holland; another at Lierre, near Antwerp, for the Belgian provinces, at that time united with Holland. These two institutions, however, sufficed but for a select number of students, the most promising subjects among the future schoolmasters of Holland; for the ordinary majority the training which M. Cuvier had praised continued in use. The Normal School at Haarlem became justly celebrated for its success, due to the capacity and character of its director, M. Prinsen. M. Prinsen was still at its head when M. Cousin visited Holland. He received M. Cousin at Haarlem; and the vigour of the man, and the personal nature of his influence over his pupils, is sufficiently revealed in his reply to M. Cousin's request for a copy of the regulations of his school; "I am the "regulations," was M. Prinsen's answer.*

The other change was in the town-schools. In the towns the public schools for the poor, well managed, well taught, regularly inspected, had become very superior to the private schools, the offspring of individual speculation, which received the children of the lower middling classes. The requirement of the certificate of indigence, in the public free schools of the towns, excluded these children from benefits which they could enjoy in the public paying schools of the country; and there was danger that their education would sink below that of the class beneath them. To avert this danger, intermediate schools (*tusschen-Schoolen*) were instituted in towns; and in these schools, by payment of a small fee, rarely exceeding 4*d.* a week, children of the middling classes could obtain an instruction invested with a public character and fenced with public guarantees. Above the *tusschen-School* was the French school (*Fransche School*), where a still higher education, including the modern languages but not yet classical, was afforded for a higher fee; above the French school came the classical, the Latin school.

The classical and superior education of Holland M. Cousin judged with not much more favour than M. Cuvier. I have not

* *De l'Instruction publique en Hollande*, p. 33.

to deal with this education here; probably it deserved in most respects the strictures passed upon it by its French critics. But it was impossible for me to enter without emotion the halls and lecture-rooms of Leyden and Utrecht, illustrious by the memory of a host of great names, and recalling by their academic costume, their academic language, or their classical predilections, the venerable Universities of our own country. Perhaps the feeling that these, too, long maintained a course which the modern spirit, not without justice, decried as antiquated, but which nevertheless formed generations able to fill, not ignobly, their part in Church and State, inspired me with indulgent tenderness towards their Dutch sisters. Yet this tenderness does not prevent me from acknowledging, with M. Cuvier and M. Cousin, that it is by its primary schools and its popular education that Holland is since 1800 eminently distinguished.

This being so, what could have been the inducement to the Dutch Government to alter a legislation which worked so well? Why, when the law of 1806 was there, should the Chambers have been called upon to vote the law of 1857? I proceed to reply very briefly to these questions.

In the first place, in 1848, Holland had the disease from which it seems that, since the French Revolution, no constitutional state on the Continent can escape;—it wrote down its constitution. The Constitution of 1848 proclaimed* liberty of instruction. The legislation of 1806 had fettered this liberty by requiring the private teacher to obtain a special authorization before he might open school. It was necessary to bring school-legislation on this point into harmony with the new Constitution.

It was asserted, too, that the body of schoolmasters, satisfactory as was their position in general, were yet left too dependent on the will of the local municipality for the amount of their salaries; that there were many cases in which these were quite insufficient; and that it was desirable to establish by law a rate of salary below which local parsimony might not descend.

It was said, also, that the legislation of 1806 had not determined with sufficient strictness the obligation of communes to provide schools; and that in some quarters popular education was in consequence suffering. Returns were quoted to show that the attendance of children in the Dutch schools, satisfactory as compared with that which many countries could boast, was yet unsatisfactory as compared with that which Holland could boast formerly. In 1835 the proportion of the inhabitants of Holland in school was 1 to 8·3; in 1848, when it reached its highest point, it was 1 to 7·78; but in January 1854 it had fallen to 1 to 9·35, and in July of the same year yet lower, to 1 to 9·83. The number of children attending no school, estimated at but 21,000 for 1852, was estimated at 38,000 for 1855. For Holland, this was a suffering state of popular education. Many desired to try whether legislation could not amend it.

* Art. 194.

Yet, after all, these were light grievances to allege against a law which had in general worked admirably. The special authorization required for private teachers had never in Holland been felt as a serious grievance, because in Holland it was almost always accorded or refused with fairness. The Dutch schoolmaster had, in general, reason rather for satisfaction than for complaint. The diffusion of instruction among the Dutch people was such as might inspire their rulers with thankfulness rather than disquietude.

Another, a graver embarrassment, placed the legislation of 1806 in question. It arose out of those very provisions of the law which had been supposed essentially to characterize it, and which observers had the most applauded. It arose out of the imposition on the schools of a non-denominational character.

M. Cousin's convictions led him to disapprove an instruction for the people which was either purely secular or not directly and dogmatically religious; but he had not been able to refuse his testimony to the success of the non-dogmatic instruction of the primary schools of Holland. He had seen, he declared, in the great schools of Amsterdam, of Rotterdam, of the Hague, Jews, Catholics, and Protestants seated side by side on the same benches, troubled by no religious animosity, receiving harmoniously a common instruction. But what struck him most was that this instruction seemed to him "penetrated with the spirit "of Christianity, though not with the spirit of sect;" that it formed men "sincerely religious and in general moral."

This was high praise from such a quarter, and it tended to dissipate the objections most formidable to such a school-system as the Dutch. If, in fact, religious training did not suffer in neutral or non-denominational schools, these schools were inevitably to be preferred to all others; for the advantages of their neutrality no one disputes, and the one supposed disadvantage of their neutrality was shown not to exist. Precisely on this plea, that, while the Dutch schools were unsectarian, they were yet truly Christian, the venerable M. Van den Ende upheld the system which he had founded. "Yes," he said to M. Cousin in 1836,* "primary schools ought to be Christian, but neither "Protestant nor Catholic. They ought to belong to no one "communion in particular, and to teach no positive dogma.—Yes, "you are right, the school ought to be Christian, the school must "be Christian. Toleration is not indifference.—I cannot approve "that the schoolmaster should give any dogmatic religious in-"struction; such instruction should be given by the ministers of "the different denominations, and out of school. I allow that "the schoolmaster may in some cases have the catechism said; "but even this is not without its inconveniences.—Remember "that you are in Holland, where the Christian spirit is very "widely spread among the people."

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* *De l'Instruction publique en Hollande*, par M. Cousin; Paris, 1837; pp. 28, 29.

It escaped, I think, M. Van den Ende, it escaped, I think, M. Cousin, that it would have been more strictly to the purpose to say:—"You are in Holland, where the *Protestant* spirit is "very widely spread among the people." I think it escaped them, that the religious teaching of the Dutch public schools, a sincere, a substantial religious teaching no doubt, was at the same time substantially a *Protestant* teaching. I think it escaped them, that this Protestant teaching passed without raising difficulties in the Dutch schools, because the religious spirit of the Dutch people in general was a decidedly Protestant spirit, which the Protestant teaching of the public schools of course did not offend. But, in that case, the triumph of the neutral school in Holland was more apparent than real. The Dutch system had not, in that case, yet solved the difficult problem of uniting in a religious instruction genuine Christian teaching with absolute exclusion of dogma.

Events have singularly proved this. In 1848 all religious denominations in Holland were placed by law on a perfect equality. Protestantism lost its exclusive predominance. What was the first step taken by the Catholics in the assertion of their equal rights? It was to claim an exact and literal observance of the law of 1806. "The word *Christian* in the law of 1806," said the Catholics, "had become in practice merely another word "for *Protestant;* if possible, banish the word *Christian* alto- "gether, for of that word in a neutral school partisans are sure "to take sectarian advantage; but, even if the word remains, "the law clearly proscribes all dogmatic teaching, clearly limits "the Christianity to be taught to morality only; execute the "law, forbid the teacher to give any dogmatic religious instruc- "tion whatever, banish from the school the Bible, which contains "dogma as well as moral precepts." The law was clearly on the side of the Catholics, and they succeeded in having it strictly put in force. M. Van den Ende's own words to M. Cousin, which I have quoted above, show that probably the Catholics had ground for complaint, show that probably the teacher sometimes actually broke the law by taking part in teaching dogmatic formularies. But even though formularies be excluded, it is hard not to impress a Protestant or Catholic stamp on the religious instruction of a school, if a school admits any religious instruction at all. We have had this difficulty even in the national schools of Ireland, where religious teaching may be supposed to have been reduced to its *minimum*. In the excellent schools of the British and Foreign School Society religious teaching has a more considerable place; it much resembles* the religious teaching of the Dutch schools under the law of 1806. The British schools are unsectarian; they profess themselves, they honestly believe themselves, unsectarian. But if

* The exclusion of dogmatic formularies of religion from the British Schools is, however, complete.

the Catholics in great numbers had to use them, we should soon, I imagine, hear complaints that they were Protestant.

No sooner was the law of 1806 put strictly in force, no sooner did the public schools of Holland become really non-denominational, than the high Protestants began to cry out against them. They discovered that the law of 1806 was vicious in principle. They discovered that the public schools which this law had founded were "Godless schools," were "centres of irreligion and "immorality."

The dissatisfaction of this formidable party was the real cause which made the revision of the law of 1806 inevitable. Either the government, while introducing into the school-law of Holland the lesser modifications necessitated by the Constitution of 1848 or by other causes, must obtain from the Chambers a fresh sanction for the important principle of the neutral school; or this principle must be publicly renounced by it. The law of 1857 raised the question.

Never, perhaps, has it been better discussed than in the debates which followed the introduction of that law into the Dutch Chambers. It does honour to Holland that she should have for her representatives men capable of debating this grave question of religious education so admirably. I greatly doubt whether any other parliamentary assembly in the world could have displayed, in treating it, so much knowledge, so much intelligence, so much moderation. These debates prove the truth of what I have before said, that in the upper classes of no country is the education for public affairs so serious or so universal as in Holland; they prove, too, that nowhere does the best thought and information of these classes so well succeed in finding its way into the legislature. A most interesting account* of the discussion has been published in the French language by M. de Laveleye, a Belgian, and a warm partisan of the cause of neutral schools; I strongly recommend the study of his book to all who desire to see the question of religious education fully debated. My space permits me here only to indicate, with the utmost brevity, the parties on each side in this discussion in the Dutch Chambers, and its issue.

Against the neutral school the high Protestant party stood alone; but its strength, though unaided, was great. This party is at the same time the great conservative party of Holland; it was strong by its wealth, by its respectability, by its long preponderance, by the avowed favour of the King. It was strongest of all, perhaps, by the character of its leader, M. Groen van Prinsterer; a man of deep religious convictions, of fervent eloquence, and of pure and noble character. As a pamphleteer and as an orator, M. Groen van Prinsterer attacked the neutral school with equal power. "No education without religion!" he exclaimed," "and no religion except in connexion with some

* *Débats sur l'Enseignement Primaire dans les Chambres Hollandaises*, par Émile de Laveleye; Gand, 1858.

"actual religious communion! else you fall into a vague deism "which is but the first step towards atheism and immorality."

If the opponents of the non-denominational school were one, its supporters were many. First of all stood the Roman Catholics; insisting, as in states where they are not in power they always insist, that the State which cannot be of their own religion shall be of no religion at all; that it shall be perfectly neutral between the various sects; that no other sect, at any rate, shall have the benefit of that State connexion which here it cannot itself obtain, but which, when it can obtain it, it has never refused. Next came the Jews and dissenters; accustomed to use the public schools, desiring to make them even more neutral rather than less neutral, apprehensive that of public schools, allotted separately to denominations, their own share might be small. Next came an important section of the Protestant party, the Protestants of the New School as they are called, who have of late years made much progress, and whose stronghold is in the University of Groningen; who take their theology from the German rationalists, and, while they declare themselves sincerely Christian, incline, in their own words, "to consider Christianity rather by its moral side and its civi-"lizing effect, than by its dogmatic side and its regenerating "effect." For these persons, the general character of the religious teaching of the Dutch schools under the law of 1806, the "Christianity common to all sects" taught in them, was precisely what they desired. Finally, the neutral schools were upheld by the whole liberal party, bent in Holland, as elsewhere, to apply on every possible occasion their favourite principle of the radical separation of Church and State; bent to exclude religion altogether from schools which belonged to the State, because with religion, they said, the State ought to have no concern whatever.

The party which really triumphed was that of the Protestants of the New School. They owed this triumph less to their own numbers and ability, than to the conformity of their views with the language of the legislation of 1806. That legislation was dear, and justly dear, to the people of Holland; a school-system had grown up under it, of which they might well be proud; they had not generally experienced any serious inconvenience from it. The new law, therefore,—while it forbade, more distinctly than the old law, the schoolmaster to take part in dogmatic religious teaching, while it expressly abandoned religious instruction to the ministers of the different religious communions, while it abstained from proclaiming, like the old law, a desire that the dogmatic religious teaching of the young, though not given in the public school, might yet not be neglected,—nevertheless still used, like the old law, the word *Christian*. It still declared that the object of primary education was "to develope the reason of "the young, and to train them to the exercise of all *Christian* "and social virtues."* This retention of the word *Christian*

* "Christelijke en maatschappelijke deugden."

gave great offence to many members of the majority. It gave offence to the Liberals, because, they said, this word was "in "evident opposition with the purely lay character of the State; "for the State, as such, has no religion." Yet the Liberals accepted the new law as a compromise, and because, after all, it still repelled the introduction of the denominational school. But the Catholics were less pliant. To the last they insisted on excluding the word *Christian*, because in practice, they said, this word signified *Protestant;* and most of them voted against the law, because this word was retained. The law passed, however, and by a large majority.

Popular instruction in Holland is, therefore, still Christian. But it is Christian in a sense so large, so wide, from which everything distinctive and dogmatic is so rigorously excluded, that it might as well, perhaps, have rested satisfied with calling itself moral. Those who gave it the name of Christian were careful to announce that by Christianity they meant "all those ideas which "purify the soul by elevating it, and which prepare the union of "citizens in a common sentiment of mutual good-will;" not "those theological subtleties which stifle the natural affections, "and perpetuate divisions among members of one commonwealth." They announced that the Christianity of the law and of the State was "a social or lay Christianity, gradually transforming society "after the model of ideal justice;" not "a dogmatic Christianity, "the affair of the individual and the Church." They announced that this Christianity did not even exclude the Jew; for "the "Jew himself will admit that the virtues enjoined by the Old "Testament are not in opposition with the word of Christ con-"sidered as a sage and a philosopher."* The Jews on their part announced that this Christianity they accepted. "In a moral "point of view," said M. Godefroi, a Jew deputy from Amsterdam, "I believe and hope that there is no member of this "Chamber, be he who he may, who is not a Christian. The "word Christian in this sense I can accept with a safe "conscience."†

The Jews might be satisfied, but the orthodox Protestants were not. In a speech of remarkable energy, and which produced a deep impression upon the country, M. Groen van Prinsterer made a final effort against the new law. "If this law "passes," he cried, "Christianity itself is henceforth only a sect, "and in the sphere of government its name must never more be "pronounced. We shall have not only the *ne plus ultra* of the "separation of Church and State, but we shall have the sepa-"ration of State and religion." "But the Constitution," retorted M. Groen's adversaries, "but the Constitution is on our "side!" "If the Constitution," replied M. Groen, "makes the "irreligious school a necessity, revise the Constitution!" When the law passed, he resigned his seat in the Chamber, and retired into private life.

* See the Speech of M. Schimmelpenninck, in M. de Laveleye's *Débats sur l'Enseignement primaire, &c.*, p. 23.

† *Débats sur l'Enseignement primaire, &c.*, p. 53.

III.

It is too soon yet to pronounce on the working of the law of 1857, for it has been in operation but two years. There seems at first sight no reason why the religious instruction of the Dutch schools should not follow the same course under the law of 1857 as under the law of 1806, for both laws regulate this instruction in nearly the same words. But the question of distinctive religious teaching has been raised; the strict execution of the letter of the law has been enforced; the orthodox Protestants have been made to see that, under that law, a religious instruction such as they wished could be given only whilst their adversaries slumbered—could be withheld the moment their adversaries awoke. The able and experienced inspector who conducted me round the schools of Utrecht, M. van Hoijtema, in pointing out to me a private elementary school, remarked that such schools had a much greater importance in Holland now than a few years ago. I asked him the reason of this; he replied that in the large towns, at any rate, there was an increasing dissatisfaction with the inadequate religious instruction of the public schools, an increasing demand for schools where a real definite religious instruction was given. He added that this was a grave state of things; that in his opinion it was very undesirable that the schools of the State, with their superior means of efficiency, should not retain the education of the people;* that Government would probably be driven to do something in order to try to remove the present objections to them. I was greatly struck by these words of M. van Hoijtema; his testimony is above suspicion; he is a Government official, and a man of great intelligence, experience, and weight. At the same time that he is school-inspector of Utrecht, he is also first judge of the Military Court of the province. But I do not regard his testimony as decisively establishing the failure of the recent school-law of Holland; on the contrary, the hour has not yet come for judging this law decisively. But it is evident, at the same time, that the example of Holland cannot at this moment be appealed to as exhibiting the complete success of the non-denominational principle.

In fact, it may perhaps be doubted, whether any body of public schools anywhere exists, satisfying at the same time the demands of parents for their children's genuine moral and religious training, and the demands of the partisans of a strict religious neutrality. Secular schools exist, but these do not satisfy the great majority of parents. Schools professing neutral religious teaching exist, but these do not satisfy rigid neutrals. They may

* In Belgium, where the number of children attending some school or other is pretty nearly the same as in Holland, but where, of that number, the proportion attending private, not public, schools, is much greater, the instruction is incredibly inferior to that of Holland. See *Débats sur l'Enseignement primaire*, (the author of which is himself a Belgian,) p. 7.

profess to give "an instruction penetrated with Christianity," yet "without any mixture of Christian dogma,"* but they have not yet succeeded in giving it. In America the prevalent religious tone of the country is the religious tone of Protestant Dissent, and this, secular as the American school-system may profess itself, becomes the religious tone of the public education of the country, without violence, without opposition. In England, the religious tone of the schools of the British and Foreign School Society is undoubtedly also the religious tone of Protestant Dissent; but in England Protestant Dissent is not all-pervading and supreme. The British schools, therefore, have to try to neutralize their religious tone, so far as they can do this without impairing its religious sincerity; and, precisely because they have to try to do this, precisely because they have to attempt this impossible feat, these excellent schools are not thoroughly succeeding. While they are too biblical for the secularist, they are yet far too latitudinarian for the orthodox. And not the orthodox only, but the great majority of mankind, the undevout, the indifferent, the sceptical, have a deep-seated feeling that religion ought to be blended with the instruction of their children, even though it is never blended with their own lives. They have a feeling equally deep-seated, that no religion has ever yet been impressively and effectively conveyed to ordinary minds, except under the conditions of a dogmatic form and positive formularies.

The State must not forget this in legislating for public education; if it does, it must expect its legislation to be a failure. The power which has to govern men, must not omit to take account of one of the most powerful motors of men's nature, their religious feeling. It is vain to tell the State that it is of no religion; it is more true to say that the State is of the religion of all its citizens, without the fanaticism of any. It is most of the religion of the majority in the sense that it justly establishes this the most widely. It deals with all, indeed, as an authority, not as a partisan; it deals with all lesser bodies contained in itself as possessing a higher reason than any one of them (for if it has not this, what right has it to govern?); it allows no one religious body to persecute another; it allows none to be irrational at the public expense; it even reserves to itself the right of judging what religious differences are vital and important, and demand a separate establishment;—but it does not attempt to exclude religion from a sphere which naturally belongs to it; it does not command religion to forego, before it may enter this sphere, the modes of operation which are essential to it; it does not attempt to impose on the masses an eclecticism which may be possible for a few superior minds. It avails itself, to supply a regular known demand of common human nature, of a regular known machinery.

It is not, therefore, unreasonable to ask of those "religions of "the Future" which the present day so prodigally announces, that

* See the Speech of the Minister of Justice, M. Van der Bruggen, *Débats sur l'Enseignement primaire, &c.*, p. 47.

they will equip themselves with a substantial shape, with a worship, a ministry, and a flock, before we legislate for popular education in accordance with their exigences. But, when they have done this, their neutralism will be at an end, denominationalism will have made them prisoners; the denominationalism of Groningen or Tübingen instead of that of Utrecht or Geneva.

IV.

The principal change made by the law of 1857 is the establishment of greater liberty of instruction. The certificates of morality and capacity are still demanded of every teacher, public or private; but the special authorization of the municipality formerly necessary for every private teacher before he could open school, and not granted except with the district inspector's sanction, is demanded no longer.* This relaxation makes the establishment of private schools more easy. The programme of primary instruction, and that of the certificate-examination of teachers, remain much the same as they were under the law of 1806. Primary instruction, strictly so called, is pronounced by the law of 1857 to comprehend reading, writing, arithmetic, the elements of geometry, of Dutch grammar, of geography, of history, of the natural sciences, and singing. This is a much fuller programme than the corresponding programme of France or Belgium. The certificate-examination is proportionately fuller also.

The new law expressly prescribes† that primary schools, in each commune, shall be at the commune's charge. The law of 1806 had contained no positive prescription on this point. The schools are to be in sufficient number, and the States' deputies and the supreme government have the right of judging whether in any commune they are in sufficient number or not.‡ School-fees are to be exacted of those who can afford to pay them, but not of "children whose families are receiving public relief, or, "though not receiving public relief, are unable to pay for their "schooling."§ If the charge of its schools is too heavy for a commune, the province and the State aid it by a grant of which each contributes half.‖ The exact amount of charge to be supported by a commune before it can receive aid, is not fixed by the Dutch law; neither is a machinery established for compelling the commune and the province to raise the school-funds required of them. In both these respects the French law is superior. But in the weakest point of the French law, in the

* A certificate from the municipality, to the effect that they have seen the private teacher's certificates of morality and capacity, and found them in regular form, is still required. But if the municipality refuse or delay the issue of such certificate, the teacher may appeal to the States' deputies and to the King. See Law of August 13th, 1857; Art. 37, 38.

† Art. 31.

‡ Art. 17.

§ Art. 33.

‖ Art. 35.

establishment of a *minimum* for the teachers' salaries, the Dutch law is commendably liberal. The *minimum* of a schoolmaster's fixed salary, placed at 8*l.* a year by the Belgian and by the French law, the Dutch law places at nearly 34*l.** I need not remind you that the sum actually received by a schoolmaster in Holland is much greater. An under-master's salary is fixed at a minimum of 200 florins; one-half of the salary fixed for head-masters.

Under the law of 1857 the public schoolmaster is still appointed by competitive examination. The district-inspector retains his influence over this examination. After it has taken place, he and a select body of the municipality draw up a list of from three to six names, those of the candidates who have acquitted themselves best. From this list the entire body of the communal council makes its selection. The communal council may also dismiss the teacher, but it must first obtain the concurrence of the inspector. If the communal council refuse to pronounce a dismissal which the inspector thinks advisable, the States' deputies of the province may pronounce it upon the representation of this functionary.†

The law fixes the legal staff of teachers to be allowed to public schools. When the number of scholars exceeds 70, the master is to have the aid of a pupil-teacher (*kweckeling*, from *kwecken*, to foster); when it exceeds 100, of an under-master; when it exceeds 150, of an under-master and pupil-teacher; for every 50 scholars above this last number he is allowed another pupil-teacher, for every 100 scholars another under-master.‡ The head-master receives two guineas a year for each pupil-teacher.

The law of 1857, like that of 1806, has abstained from making education obligatory. But it gives legal sanction to a practice already long followed by many municipalities, and which I have noticed above; it enjoins the municipal council to "provide as "far as possible for the attendance at school of all children "whose parents are in the receipt of public relief." Great efforts had been made, in the debates on the clauses of the law, to procure a more decided recognition by the State of the principle of compulsory education. It was proposed at least to make the payment of the school-fee obligatory for each child of school-age, if the Chamber would not go so far as to make his actual attendance at school obligatory. This obligation of payment (*schoolgeld-pligtigheid*) had already, it was said, been enforced by the governments of three provinces, Groningen, Drenthe, and Overyssel, with excellent effect.§ The usual arguments for compulsory education were adduced—that other countries had successfully established it—that ignorance was making rapid

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* 400 florins. † Art. 22. ‡ Art. 18.

§ In Groningen the number of children attending school had risen from 20,000 to 30,000, in consequence of the adoption in 1839, by the provincial government, of a regulation requiring the payment of the school-fee for every child of from 5 to 12 years of age whether he attended school or not. See *Débats sur l'Enseignement primaire*, p. 57.

strides for want of it—that in China, where it reigns, all the children can read and write. It was replied that compulsory education was altogether against the habits of the Dutch people. Even in the mitigated form of the *schoolgeld-pligtigheid*, a large majority of the Chamber refused to sanction it.

The new legislation organized inspection somewhat differently from the law of 1806. It retained the local school-commissions, and the district-inspectors; but at the head of the inspection of each district it placed a salaried provincial inspector.* It directed that these provincial inspectors should be assembled, once a year, under the presidency of the Minister for the Home Department, to deliberate on the general interests of primary instruction. The Minister for the Home Department, assisted by a Referendary, is the supreme authority for the government of education. Between the provincial inspectors and the Minister the law of 1857 has omitted to place inspectors-general. M. de Laveleye, in general the warm admirer of the Dutch school-legislation, considers this omission most unfortunate.

The 16th article of the law declares that children are to be admitted into the communal school without distinction of creed. For the much-debated 23rd article the wording finally adopted was as follows:—

"Primary instruction, while it imparts the information neces-
"sary, is to tend to develope the reason of the young, and
"to train them to the exercise of all Christian and social
"virtues.

"The teacher shall abstain from teaching, doing, or permitting
"anything contrary to the respect due to the convictions of
"dissenters.

"Religious instruction is left to the different religious com-
"munions. The school-room may be put at their disposal for
"that purpose, for the benefit of children attending the school,
"out of school-hours."

V.

In Lord Napier's absence, Mr. Ward, the British Chargé d'Affaires at the Hague, to whose kindness I am much indebted, presented me to M. Vollenhoven, the Referendary charged with the department of primary instruction under the authority of the Minister for the Home Department, M. van Tets. M. Vollenhoven not only furnished me with all the official documents which I wished to consult on the subject of primary instruction in Holland, but obligingly placed me in communication with the school-inspectors of the localities which I proposed to visit. My guide at the Hague was M. van Citters, a member of one of the best families in Holland, of good fortune, and a man of letters, but, with the

* Art. 58.

public spirit of which I have before spoken as distinguishing his countrymen, giving his services gratuitously as a school-inspector. Under his guidance I visited one of the public schools of the Hague. It was a mixed school, containing 320 boys and 330 girls; the teaching staff consisted of a head-master, four under-masters, and five pupil-teachers. The head-master has 1,000 florins a-year, with a house, fire, and lights; the under-masters have from 350 to 600 florins a-year; the pupil-teachers from 50 to 100, and their instruction. This instruction is organized somewhat differently from that of our pupil-teachers; in each town of Holland the whole body of public schoolmasters forms one community, jointly giving instruction to the whole body of pupil-teachers, each master taking his own subject. In Holland, as in our own country, there are at the present moment many complaints that pupil-teachers are exceedingly hard to obtain. Those whom I saw appeared to me in general admirably trained; but yet more remarkable was the training of the principal masters. Many of the pupil-teachers spoke a little French, one or two of them a little English; but among the head-masters it is not rare to find men speaking English or French well, and having a considerable acquaintance with the literature of both languages.

The external appearance of the children, in this school at the Hague, and their discipline, were excellent; yet this was one of the four free schools of the capital; there is also one intermediate or paying school. My imperfect knowledge of the Dutch language prevented me from orally examining the scholars; but I saw enough of their work on their slates and in their copy-books, to convince me of the solidity of their instruction. The school opens daily with general prayer, general enough (it is supposed) for all to join in it; and the head-master teaches scripture history as part of the school-course. Out of school-hours, between 12 and 1 o'clock, special instructors attend, to give, in the school-room, religious instruction to the Protestant scholars; neither the Roman Catholics nor the Jews use the school-room for this purpose, though at liberty to do so. I asked if any inconvenience was experienced from the mixture of boys and girls in one school; I was told, none whatever; the practice is universal in Holland. The three large school-rooms were well lighted and airy; though the weather was hot, and the rooms were somewhat overcrowded, the ventilation was perfectly good. In Holland, as in France, it is common, when a school is wanted, to adapt existing buildings to the purpose, instead of erecting new; the adaptations which I saw were generally successful, and much expense is thus saved.

I visited Haarlem; but M. Prinsen, the celebrated director of the Normal School, is no longer there. The present director is M. Geerligs, who is at the same time the school-inspector of the district. M. Geerligs obligingly conducted me through the primary schools of the town. Here, as at the Hague, the public schools for the poor are four in number. Of two of these which I visited, one

had 500 scholars under a head-master with a yearly salary of 1,200 florins, five under-masters, and one pupil-teacher. The other, with a somewhat lower instruction, had a head-master with a salary of 1,000 florins, six under-masters, and three pupil-teachers, with an attendance of 600 scholars. Both schools were overcrowded. Of the two other public schools in Haarlem, one has 700 scholars, the other 500. The pupil-teachers here have from 12 to 25 florins a year; the rate of their payment differs in different places. The order and cleanliness in both the large poor-schools which I visited, were quite exemplary.

The law of 1857 is to be completed by regulations reorganizing the normal schools of Holland; but these regulations have not yet appeared. Meanwhile the Normal School of Haarlem is provisionally continued. It contained, when I visited it, 25 students. They are not boarded in the institution, but lodge in the town; this arrangement is undoubtedly faulty, and the new regulations will change it. The institution is entirely at the charge of the State, which allows 200 florins a year for the maintenance of each student in it. Admission is eagerly sought for. The course lasts four years. The students attend lectures from 8 to 9 in the morning, and from 5½ to 7½ in the evening; the first-year students attend lectures in the afternoon also. But the mornings of all the students, the mornings and afternoons of students of the second, third, and fourth year, are spent in teaching in the different schools of Haarlem. They are practised in schools of all kinds; schools for the poor, schools for the middle class, schools (without Greek and Latin) for the rich. The children of the latter, at an age when in England they would probably be still at home, almost universally attend school in Holland. A school for the richer class of children is attached to the Normal School, and belongs to the present director, M. Geerligs. The students commence in the poor-schools, and go gradually upwards, finishing their practice in schools for the richer class, where the attainment required in the teacher is, of course, more considerable than in the others. In Holland this mode of training the future teacher so as to fit him for any kind of primary school, is found convenient; the superior address and acquirement of the best Dutch teachers is probably to be attributed to it. It is possible that in other countries it might be found to have disadvantages. But, at any rate, the large part assigned in the Dutch system of training to the actual practice of teaching, is excellent. Our Normal School authorities would do well to meditate on this great feature of the Haarlem course. The Commissioners will perceive that when I assured them that, in Holland, the training of the future schoolmaster was much more strictly practical and professional than with us, it was not a vain form of words which I was using.

Holland has at present a population of 3,298,137 inhabitants. For her eleven provinces, she has 11 provincial inspectors and 92 district inspectors. In 1857, her public primary schools were 2,478 in number, with a staff of 2,409 principal masters, 1,587

under-masters, 642 pupil-teachers, 134 schoolmistresses and female assistants. In the day and evening schools there were, on the 15th of January, 322,767 scholars. Of these schools 197 were, in 1857, inspected three times; 618, twice; 1,053, once. In 817 of them the instruction is reported as very good; in 1,236 as good; as middling in 367; in 55 as bad. There were, besides, 944 private schools, giving instruction to 83,562 scholars. There were 784 infant schools, receiving 49,873 young children. Boarding-schools, Sunday-schools, and work-schools, with the pupils attending them, are not included in the totals above given. Towards the expense of primary instruction the Dutch provinces contributed, in 1857, 52,581fl. 17c., about 4,380*l*; the State contributed 25,490fl. 25c., about 2,120*l*.* The rest was defrayed by the communes.

The proportion of scholars to the population, not yet so satisfactory as in 1848, was nevertheless in 1857 more satisfactory than in 1854; in January of the latter year but 1 in every 9·35 inhabitants was in school; in the same month of 1857, 1 in every 8·11 inhabitants. But, in truth, the suffering state of popular education in Holland would be a flourishing state in most other countries. In the debates of 1857 one of the speakers, who complained that popular education in Holland was going back, cited, in proof of the justice of his complaint, returns showing the state of instruction of the conscripts of South Holland in 1856. In this least-favoured province, out of 6,086 young men drawn for the army, 669 could not read or write. Fortunate country, where such an extent of ignorance is matter of complaint! In the neighbouring country of Belgium in the same year, out of 6,617 conscripts in the province of Brabant, 2,254 could not read or write; out of 5,910 conscripts in the province of West Flanders, 2,088 were in the same condition; out of 7,192 in East Flanders, 3,153. And, while in East Flanders but 1,820 conscripts out of 7,192 could read, write, and cypher correctly, in South Holland, in the worst educated of the Dutch provinces, no less than 5,268 out of 6,086 possessed this degree of acquirement.†

VI.

Such, in Holland, is the present excellent situation of primary instruction. In Prussia it may be even somewhat more widely diffused; but nowhere, probably, has it such thorough soundness and solidity. It is impossible to regard it without admiration. Yet I will freely confess that I do not feel in regarding it that lively interest which I should feel if it were produced under conditions more resembling those which exist, or which

* See *Verslag nopens der Staat der Hooge, Middlebare en Lagere Scholen in het Koningrijk der Nederlanden.* The Hague, 1859; p. 122. See also Tables I. and II. (compiled from official sources) at the end of this Report.

† *Débats sur l'Enseignement primaire*, p. 59.

are likely to exist, in our own country. The circumstances of Holland, though in some external respects singularly like our own, are yet profoundly and essentially different. They are different both in their defects and in their advantages. Holland differs from us in that which most materially influences the course of a nation's life—in the present temper and genius of her people.

C'est une nation éteinte, a clever Frenchman said to me of the Dutch people. This is too strong; yet this people, undoubtedly, is no longer in the heyday and flush of its national life; it has no longer the enthusiasm and the aspirations of confident youth or powerful maturity. Although very far, assuredly, from the weakness of decrepitude, its genius moves with the mechanic and unelastic march of a spirit whose prime is over. The Dutch people has now, as a people, two strong aspirations only—for the maintenance of its separate nationality, and for the retention of its colonial dominion. These are respectable aspirations certainly; but such aspirations are not the whole enthusiastic life of great peoples. They were not the sole aspirations of the great Holland of the sixteenth century—of the Holland of William the Silent. They are not the sole aspirations of the England, the France, the Russia, the America, of the present day, looking inquisitively and ardently towards an unbounded future. They are not the sole aspirations of a mighty and growing people, full of life, full of movement, full of energy.

But the sober and mechanic spirit of the Dutch people regulates all the positive affairs of life with exemplary precision. It regulates them with a precision difficult of attainment for more impulsive and mobile nations. Above all, it regulates them with a precision which its comparatively small numbers render comparatively easy for it. It is easier to have a model village than a model city; it is easier minutely to provide, watch, and keep in order a mechanism for three millions of men, than for thirty millions. What will it be, when the three millions are at the same time individually far more still and tractable than the thirty? I do not think we can hope, in England, for municipalities, which, like the Dutch municipalities, can in the main safely be trusted to provide and watch over schools; for a population, which, like the Dutch population, can in the main safely be trusted to come to school regularly; for a government, which has only to give good advice and good suggestions in order to be promptly obeyed.

Even the government of Holland, however, has regulated popular education by law; even the school-loving people of Holland, so well-taught, so sober-minded, so reasonable, is not abandoned in the matter of its education to its own caprices. The State in Holland, where education is prized by the masses, no more leaves education to itself, than the State in France, where it is little valued by them. It is the same in the other country of which I have spoken—in Switzerland. Here and there, indeed, school-legislation may in some respects be

injudicious, in some respects extravagant; but everywhere I have shown to you law, everywhere State regulation. You will judge, whether there is anything which makes the State, in England, unfit to be trusted with such regulation; whether there is anything which makes the people in England unfit to be subjected to it. You will judge, whether there is any danger in entrusting to a State-authority the least meddlesome, the least grasping, the least prone to over-government in the world,—to a State-authority which, even if it wished to change its nature in these respects, would be powerless against the resistance which would confront it,—the superintendence of an important concern which the State superintends in all other countries, and which Burke, no friend to petty governmental meddling, would indisputably have classed with religion among the proper objects of State-control,* had this question of popular education come to the surface in his day. You will judge, whether there is any inherent quality in the English people, fitting it to regulate well by itself a concern which no other people has by itself well regulated.

For a certain part of its education, undoubtedly, the English people is sufficient to itself. In the air of England, in the commerce of his countrymen, in the long tradition and practice of liberty, there is for every Englishman an education which is without a parallel in the world, and which I am the last to undervalue. If I do not extol it, it is because everyone in England appreciates it duly. This education of a people governments neither give nor take away. This it receives, not by the disposition of legislators, but by the essential conditions of its own being. But there are some things which neither in England nor in any other country can the mass of a people have by nature, and these things governments can give it. They can give it those simple, but invaluable and humanizing, acquirements, without which the finest race in the world is but a race of splendid barbarians. Above all, governments, in giving these, may at the same time educate a people's reason, a people's equity. These are not the qualities which the masses develope for themselves. Obstinate resistance to oppression, omnipotent industry, heroic valour,—all these may come from below upwards; but unprejudiced intelligence, but equitable moderation—never. If, then, the State disbelieves in reason, when will reason reach the mob?

In England the State is perhaps inclined to admit too readily its powerlessness as inevitable. It too easily resigns itself to believe that there exists in the country no such thing as a party of reason, capable of upholding a Government which should boldly throw itself upon it for support. Perhaps such a party exists; perhaps it is stronger than Governments think. No doubt the State has in this country to confront, when it attempts to act, great suspicion, great jealousy. But in other countries, also,

* See the remarkable passage in *Thoughts and Details on Scarcity*;—*Burke's Works*, London, 1815, vol. vii., p. 416.

it has had its adversaries to contend with; and it has sometimes, even when most despotic, relied for success not on superior brute force, but on an arm which the most constitutional State might blamelessly wield—on superior reason. The Consular legislation of 1802, which I have before mentioned, supplies a notable instance. In his great work of reorganizing French society, Napoleon determined to revive, by the institution of the justest system of public recompences ever founded, the Legion of Honour, those distinctions of rank which are salutary and necessary to society, but which feudalism had abused and anarchy had abolished. Distinctions are in nature; but there are the essential distinctions of Nature herself, and there are the arbitrary distinctions of accident or favour. The decorations of governments usually follow the latter. The Legion of Honour was instituted to do homage to the former. The fanatics of an impossible equality declaimed violently against the First Consul's project. He persevered and succeeded; but both in the Tribunate and in the Legislative Body his measure encountered strenuous resistance. "We have gone "a little too fast," said Napoleon to those about him, when he heard of this opposition; "we have gone a little too fast, that "must be allowed. *But we had reason on our side; and, when "one has reason on one's side, one should have the courage to "run some risks.*" Noble words of a profound and truly creative genius, which employed, in administration, something solider than makeshifts!

I have the honour to remain,
My Lord Duke and Gentlemen,
Your obedient, humble Servant,
MATTHEW ARNOLD.

To the Royal Commissioners for inquiring into the State of Popular Education in England.

I.—TABLE showing TOTAL NUMBER of PRIMARY SCHOOLS,

Provinces.	Population on		School Districts.	Local School Commissions.	Number of Schools.
	1st January 1851.	1st January 1857.			
North Brabant - -	397,133	409,678	9	4	425
Gelderland - - -	373,252	396,421	10	11	442
South Holland - - -	477,367	612,031	9	11	484
North Holland - - -	479,564	542,234	11	6	510
Zeeland - - - -	161,495	165,791	5	4	160
Utrecht - - - -	150,441	159,382	5	2	159
Friesland - - - -	249,769	268,119	9	6	370
Overyssel - - - -	218,551	233,723	6	3	245
Groningen - - - -	189,178	204,484	6	1	255
Drenthe - - - -	83,675	92,785	4	2	146
Limburg - - - -	206,444	213,489	8	4	226
Total - - -	2,986,869	3,298,137	82	54	3,422

TEACHERS, and SCHOLARS in each PROVINCE of HOLLAND, in 1857.

Teachers.			Scholars.					
			15th January.			15th July.		
Male.	Female.	Total.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
664	263	927	27,360	22,100	49,460	19,723	17,996	37,719
760	134	894	32,065	22,029	54,094	21,072	16,931	38,003
1,225	131	1,356	37,743	29,797	67,540	34,485	28,600	63,085
1,084	188	1,272	31,726	25,849	57,575	31,944	26,927	58,871
323	15	338	11,613	7,640	19,253	7,834	6,486	14,320
347	56	403	9,700	7,619	17,319	8,855	7,567	16,422
622	21	643	21,938	17,040	38,978	18,412	15,581	33,993
467	34	501	17,334	14,691	32,025	13,619	12,387	26,006
439	3	442	16,049	14,260	31,209	14,691	13,666	28,357
200	5	205	7,106	6,202	14,008	4,900	4,659	9,559
349	61	410	14,119	10,749	24,868	10,186	8,097	18,283
6,480	911	7,391	228,353	177,976	406,329	185,721	158,897	344,618

II.

TABLE showing the PROPORTION, in HOLLAND, of PUPILS attending SCHOOL to the POPULATION.

Provinces.	Population on 1st January 1851 to the total number of Scholars as 1,000 to . . .	Population on 1st January 1857 to the total number of Scholars as 1,000 to . . .	Population on 1st January 1851 to the total number of Scholars as 1,000 to . . .	Population on 1st January 1857 to the total number of Scholars as 1,000 to . . .
	On the 15th January 1857.		On the 15th July 1857.	
North Brabant - - -	122· 0	120· 7	95· 0	92· 1
Gelderland - - - -	145· 2	136· 5	101· 8	95· 9
South Holland - - -	141· 5	110· 4	132· 2	103· 8
North Holland - - -	120· 0	106· 2	122· 8	108· 1
Zeeland - - - - -	119· 2	116· 1	88· 7	86· 4
Utrecht - - - - -	115· 1	108· 7	109· 2	103· 0
Friesland - - - -	156· 1	145· 4	136· 1	126· 8
Overyssel - - - -	146· 5	137· 0	119· 5	111· 3
Groningen - - - -	165· 0	152· 6	149· 9	138· 7
Drenthe - - - - -	167· 4	151· 0	114· 2	103· 0
Limburg - - - - -	120· 5	116· 5	88· 6	85· 6
Mean number - -	136· 1	123· 2	115· 4	104· 5

REPORT

OF

THE REV. MARK PATTISON, B.D.

EXPLANATION OF SOME TERMS.

Inspektor denotes functions of management and superintendence; not merely those of inspection and report. I have used the English word "inspector" in this sense.

Gemeinde is either (1) the civil corporation, or (2) a religious community. In sense (1) I have used the French term *commune;* in sense (2) the word "congregation."

Seminar (*Schullehrerseminar,*) a Normal Training College for Elementary Teachers. I have used the word "seminary" in this sense.

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REPORT *of* ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER the Rev. MARK PATTISON, B.D., Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, *on the* STATE *of* ELEMENTARY EDUCATION *in* GERMANY.

MY LORD DUKE AND GENTLEMEN, Oxford, Oct. 30, 1859.

THE following paper contains the results of the inquiry you were pleased to direct me to make into Elementary Education in Germany.

I received at the same time specific instructions as to the points on which you desired to receive information. The field of inquiry pointed out to me here was so vast that I conceived I was to regard your letter of instructions as offering me a choice of topics, information with respect to any of which might be useful for the purposes of the commission, rather than prescribing a number of queries which I was to exhaust. The time indeed allowed for my tour of inquiry,—four months,—made it impossible to attempt to fill up more than a small part of so comprehensive a sketch. The mass of information, too, which presented itself was so overwhelming, that I found it necessary to impose some limitation upon myself, and not to collect facts and figures of which I could not appreciate the value and bearing. I found myself at a very early period obliged to renounce inquiry into Catholic education, into schools for special training, and into criminal returns. The present increasing influence of the Roman Catholic Church in Germany makes the first of these subjects one of great moment, but also of special difficulty. To find the degree in which in any country crime is determined by the state of education, as distinct from other more powerful social agents, such as the division of landed property, lack of beneficial employment, traditional irritation against the law in a certain class, density of population (*i.e.* opportunity), &c., can only be undertaken by a native or a resident, and I have not been able to meet with any reliable information, for Germany, on this head. The farm and reformatory schools for pauper, morally endangered, or delinquent children, now established all over Germany, are well worth examination; but, though I visited a few of these establishments, my time would not allow of my following out the subject. A good deal of information was collected, about 15 years ago, by M. Ducpetiaux, and arranged in a report to the Minister of Justice in Belgium. Of this report there is an abstract by Mr. Fletcher in the Journal of the Statistical Society for 1852.

Confining myself, therefore, to general elementary education in Protestant Germany, I now lay before your Lordships such an account as I am able to give.

From the central authority in the several German States I received, almost without exception, liberal permission to visit all the

institutions under their control. But this permission would have availed me little had it not been seconded by the voluntary assistance of district officers to put me in the way of acquiring local information, and of heads of schools and seminaries to aid me in understanding the practical working of the system they were engaged in administering. It is impossible for me to enumerate all the persons from whom I thus received friendly aid or cordial reception. I may be permitted, however, to name to you the following persons to whom I am more particularly indebted for information and assistance.

Dr. Schulze, *Stadtschulrath* for the city of Berlin, was so good as to allow me to send him a paper of questions, to which he returned written answers. *Director* Thilo, Principal of the Royal Seminary at Berlin. *Consistorialrath* Wachler, Member of the Government of the Province of Silesia. *Consistorialrath* Trinkler, Member of the Departmental Government of Magdeburg. *Director* Kretschler, Principal of the Seminary at Weissenfels. *Director* Bock, Principal of the Seminary at Münsterberg. *Geheimrath* Gilbert, Secretary to the Ministry of Education in the Kingdom of Saxony. Dr. Grossmann, *Superintendent* of the Diocese of Grimma. *Director* Lüben, Principal of the Seminary at Bremen. *Schuldirector* Friedrichs, Inspector of Schools in the City of Brunswick. Pastor Geiger, Minister of the Church of St. Jacobus in Nürnberg. *Rector* Eisenlohr, Principal of the Seminary at Nürtingen. *Oberconsistorialrath* Stirm, Member of the Supreme Consistory of Würtemberg. Herr Laistner, one of Masters in the City School at Stuttgard. From all these I received material assistance or facilities of inspection. I desire to express my particular obligations to *Director* Wöpcke, Principal of the Seminary at Bunzlau, for devoting so much of his valuable time to going through with me, not once, but again and again, the details of the Prussian system; and to *Archidiaconus* Schreckenbach, Senior Pastor of the town of Chemnitz, for the trouble he took in enabling me to understand the school arrangements in the manufacturing district of Saxony.

Some of the most celebrated of the schools and seminaries in Germany are in the regular habit of receiving visits from teachers and schoolmen of other parts of Germany, and even from foreign countries. It is the custom in some parts of Prussia for young masters in a seminary to make occasional visits in the holidays to the seminary of some other country, receiving a small sum from Government for their expenses. Even the director of a seminary is sometimes sent on such a tour. I was told everywhere that this was the first occasion on which any visitor had come with a mission from any public authority in England, although several Englishmen had made partial visits in a private capacity. The only general accounts of education in Germany which such public missions have produced, that I have met with, are the following:—

1. In the summer of 1831, M. Victor Cousin was sent by the Ministry of Education in his own country on a tour of inspection in Germany. M. Cousin's commission included, not only primary education, but the higher schools and the universities. He occupied two months in visiting, and describes Weimar, Saxony, Prussia,

and the city of Frankfort-on-the-Main. Nearly half M. Cousin's report is occupied with Prussia. It is sufficient to say, that the whole of M. Cousin's account of primary education in that country is taken from a scheme of Von Altenstein, Minister of Education in Prussia at the time of M. Cousin's visit. This scheme (*Entwurf*) was never attempted to be put into execution,—was never enacted, or even published,—but remains still in the secret archives of the Ministry of Education at Berlin. M. Cousin, however, treating it as the existing Prussian system, says in one place "that it has the force of law." Though once or twice naming it "projet de loi," he prefers generally to call it "the law of 1819," and says of it, "that it is the most comprehensive law on primary instruction with which he is acquainted." This extraordinary mis-statement has never been fully exposed. Its nature is only understood when we become aware of the fact that Prussia has never had a general law on education. Her administration in this, as in other branches, is provincial, and her existing system the growth of time, varying locally according to the circumstances of the different populations of which the monarchy is composed.

2. Again, in 1854, the French Ministry of Instruction charged M. Eugéne Rendu to visit Germany, to study the state of education. M. Rendu has not communicated his instructions. The book, however, which was the result of his visit, differs from M. Cousin's report in entering upon the philosophical history of education in Germany, and not confining itself to a description of its exterior organization. M. Rendu lays it down as being the chief object of all education to preserve and transmit from one generation to another a given traditional form or system of thought. He is little occupied in seeing that which is before him, but rather in applying to it this à priori test. He finds that the Catholic Church and the Catholic schools fulfil his condition, but that the Protestant schools do not, though he admits that the efforts lately made have been in the right direction.

3. At least three Americans appear to have visited Germany with the view of instituting systematic inquiries into its schools. The report of Professor Stowe, if he made one, I have not seen. In 1837, Dr. Bache, Director of the Girard College for Orphans in Philadelphia, was commissioned by the trustees of the college to proceed to Europe on a tour of inspection. Dr. Bache spent two years on this mission, and with the well-known activity of his countrymen went everywhere and saw everything. He visited not only the greater part of the German States, but also Great Britain, France, Holland, and Switzerland. His report embraces hospitals, schools of industry, reformatories, the higher Education, classical and commercial, and the universities. The volume, entitled "Report on Education in Europe to the Trustees of the Girard College for Orphans, by Alexander Dallas Bache, LL.D., Philadelphia, 1839," extends to upwards of 600 8vo. pages, and is careful and correct, but from its comprehensive nature the space devoted to elementary education in Germany is necessarily small, and the account cursory.

4. In 1843, the well-known Horace Mann, Esq., then Secretary to the Board of Education, Massachusetts, made a school tour in Europe, at his own expense, and annexed to his next annual report

a short account of what he saw. The remarks of an experienced inspector like Mr. Mann, who knew what to look for, and what to ask, are always just and to the purpose; but, except in describing some of the methods in use in teaching, they are very general, and do not aim at being a complete account. Mr. Mann's report of his foreign tour has been republished in this country (Simpkin and Marshall, 1846), with a preface and notes by Mr. Hodgson.

5. I ought not, perhaps, to omit to notice the papers read before the Educational Conference at Willis's Rooms, in June 1857, and that of Dr. Ihne at Liverpool in October 1858, as praiseworthy attempts to spread a knowledge of some of the features of foreign education at home.

I am quite aware how small a part of the facts I have been able to bring before you in the following notices, both as compared either with the heads of inquiry furnished to me or with the objects which might have been usefully observed. In the technical parts of his art a trained teacher from one of our own good training schools would probably not have much to learn, even from the best German practice; but it would always be worth the while of any school manager or inspector, who had the leisure or opportunity, to study, on the spot, the working of the system in one of the large seminaries of North Germany. By limiting his attention to a few points he would be able to arrive at an estimate of these more correct than can be obtained by one who attempts to embrace a general view. The utility of such a study of a foreign system does not depend on the question: Are the German primary schools or training colleges better than our own? A question, besides, quite irrelevant to my inquiry. But the same difficulties in the way of national education with which we have to contend have to be met in the several countries of Germany, only under conditions so altered and infinitely varied as to afford a most instructive lesson. Their experience has been longer than ours, and has in some points passed through stages we are only approaching. It is indeed true that the legislation in any country is always determined by its own necessities, and is not influenced by the knowledge of what is being done in another. In this country we are little likely to err on the side of a hasty imitation of foreign modes, or to adopt a usage from a neighbouring country, forgetful that its being successful there is no guarantee that it will adapt itself to our climate. But when we are debating how we shall legislate, we cannot afford to ignore the vast storehouse of experience which the history of the last 50 years of primary instruction in Germany offers. Much rather is every-one, who has any information on foreign systems to give, called upon to come forward with it, not as precedent to be followed, but as material for deliberation.

It is often taken for granted that the school establishments in the several states of Germany originated in and are maintained by the arbitrary will of their governments, without any regard had to the wants and peculiarities of the people on whom they are forced. If this were true, it would indeed follow that little was to be learnt from observation of such artificial creations. But it is not true. It is precisely because the history of education in Germany is a part of the national history, and the school a genuine offshoot of national life, strongly rooted in the soil, that we may consult it with advan-

tage. The general uniformity of the organization of primary instruction throughout Germany may be appealed to in proof that it originated in common necessities, and not in the caprice of individual governments. And to speak only of Prussia, nothing is more remarkable than the way in which the vicissitudes of general opinion, pervading its educated classes, manifest themselves in process of time in the elementary schools. While the grammar schools and universities have remained, as to method, pretty much what they always were, the elementary school has been invaded by all the theories of education which have successively prevailed, each of which has left behind it a portion of good. This is meant of the method of teaching in the school; but it is true in some measure of the political organization of education. It is impossible to describe the German system as a machine in which the parts bear a fixed invariable relation to each other. There are four principal powers or influences which contend with each other for possession of the school: the secular with the ecclesiastical authority; the central with the local authority. We shall not find these influences in a posture of definitely adjusted equilibrium, but in different times and different countries each gaining or losing upon its antagonist's force.

PART I.

Exterior Organization of Education.

1. *The Church.*

It is and always has been recognized throughout Protestant Germany, that both the State and the Church have an obligation in respect of elementary education. There is no state in which the secular power wholly declines this duty; there is none in which the clergy do not exercise considerable powers of inspection and control. But the degree in which the church participates in the actual conduct of the education of the people is extremely various.

As a general rule, the same officers in whose hands is the government of the church are charged, through all the gradations, with the superintendence of the elementary schools. In a few states only, as, *e.g.*, in Hesse-Darmstadt, do we find a system of school management wholly separate from the system of ecclesiastical government. Yet even here a large share of power is secured to the church, in that on the district board two seats out of three must be filled by clergymen of the district; and of the parochial board the minister of the parish is ex-officio chairman.

As a type of those countries in which the same officers who administer church affairs, through all the instances, manage primary education, Würtemberg may be taken. (Kingdom of Würtemberg; 354 square miles; 1,669,720 population, of whom 1,208,025 Evangelical, 523,566 Catholic.) In Würtemberg the Lutheran system of church government has incorporated with itself an important fragment borrowed from the republican constitution of the Reformed church in its neighbourhood. The *Kirchenconvent*, or church delegacy, which exists in each parish, and administers the church affairs of the parish, is in fact the Calvinistic presbytery, which has become engrafted on the Lutheran form of government. This Presbyterian *Kirchenconvent* is composed of the pastor of the parish, the mayor, and two or more lay members of the *commune*. In a city, *e.g.*, in Stuttgard, where there are many parishes, there is but one *Kirchenconvent*, in which each parish is represented by its senior pastor. This parochial delegacy has the management of both the church and the school, with this difference, that when it meets on school affairs it receives the name of school board (*Ortsschulbehörde*). The master of the school has a seat, but not a voice at this board. These local school boards (alias *Kirchenconvent*) are immediately subordinate to the archdeacon of the district (*Dekan*). The *Dekan*, when he exercises his functions over the schools, is called district inspector (*Bezirksschulaufseher*). The *Dekan*, of whom there are about 50 in all, is wholly a church officer; and the scholastic district (*Bezirk*) coincides regularly with the ecclesiastical. It is true that the *Dekan* is not ex-officio inspector, but is nominated to the office; and that the law (of 1836) expressly provides that it shall be lawful to appoint any other clergyman of the district, and not the *Dekan*. But I am told there is as yet no instance of this having been done.

Next above the *Dekan* is the bishop (*Prälat*), who as his immediate ecclesiastical superior receives from the *Dekan* his annual report on the state of the schools in his district, and who is required to visit a third part of the decanal districts in his diocese every year, in which visitation the elementary schools form a principal object. For deliberation on general business the six prelates meet once a year in synod, when the affairs of the school are discussed with the rest of the church business. No legislation in these branches ever takes place till the synod has previously discussed the point, and tendered its suggestions in writing. The general school law of 29 September 1836 was framed upon the basis of an instruction thus drawn up by the Evangelical synod. Lastly, the supreme ecclesiastical authority in the kingdom is lodged with the consistory. This body, under another title, that of supreme school board (*Oberschulbehörde*), has the control of all the elementary schools in the kingdom, and of the two training schools for elementary masters. Though it has no legislative power, it has the power of issuing interpretations of laws, so far as they affect its sphere of administration, and did in fact in this way actually set aside one provision of the school law of 1858 by explaining it. The Minister of Public Instruction in Würtemberg is at the head of the whole department of education; but though his power over the university and the higher schools is direct, he can approach the elementary schools only through the consistory. He is their medium of communication with the legislature, and he can, on his own responsibility, at once refuse to bring forward any proposal which involves money grant.

In the instance of Würtemberg we have an opportunity of seeing primary instruction occupying its primitive position, as in the times of the Reformation, as a subordinate function of the church. The higher schools have indeed escaped from ecclesiastical superintendence, and the Real schools, being a modern erection, have never been subject to it. But the elementary schools are attached throughout to the church organism, and are only so far interfered with by either the central or the local secular authorities as the church administration itself is liable to be controlled by the same. Between this arrangement, and its opposite, which obtains, *e.g.*, in Hesse-Darmstadt, is found that mixed system, which prevails in the majority of the Protestant states, and especially in Prussia and Saxony. The history of this compromise, so far as church power proper is concerned, is well known. As far as education is involved in it, we shall be disposed, on a mere view of the hierarchical constitution of the administration through all its grades, to think that the state has almost swallowed up the church, in the same way as the central power has all but annihilated local life. We find, however, that the very foremost feature of the educational condition of Germany at this moment is a revival of the influence of the church and its claims to educate the people. It is precisely in Prussia that this movement has been most active and successful; yet we do not hear in Prussia of dissatisfaction among the clergy with the central power, or its encroachments on them. They dislike the Chambers, which they regard as hostile to them. They are also at war with the principle of local or self-government, at least in the towns, though not unfavourable to it in the country. But the relations of the Protestant church with

the central government in the matter of education are harmonious. The Catholic church, on the contrary, is in a condition of perpetual discord with the state on this subject.

The technical organization of primary instruction in Prussia divides the superintendence between the church and the state in the following manner:—

The pastor of the parish is ex officio local inspector of the elementary schools, both chief and affiliated, within his parish; but the term *Inspector* implies much more than is meant by it in England, including superintendence as well as visitation. Besides this, the school, or school union, if the parish contain affiliated schools, is managed, not as in Würtemberg, by the church presbytery, but by a board of managers (*Schulvorstand*). The composition of this board varies in different provinces, but in all the clergyman of the parish is a member; in most he is chairman. In cases where, as in the province of Prussia, the chairmanship of the board is reserved for the patron of the school, yet as the patron, probably a great landed proprietor, is never present, the clergyman takes his place. Practically, in country places in many of the provinces, Pomerania, Silesia, &c., the other members of the board of management either never attend its meetings, or if they do only meet to sanction what the pastor proposes. In towns the local authority is exercised in a more efficient way by a body called *Schuldeputation*. The competencies of these authorities respectively will be given in detail presently.

The immediate ecclesiastical superior of the parish clergyman is the *Superintendent*, and he is also ex officio inspector of the schools in his district. When the superintendent acts in this capacity, he is styled *Kreisschulinspector*, or simply *Schulinspector* (*Schulpfleger*), the pastor having the title of *Lokalschulinspector*. The superintendent, like the dean in Würtemberg, visits a third part of his district every year, and includes in his visitation the parish schools. The real authority of the superintendent has varied at different times, though his paper attributes have remained the same. At one time the office had fallen into such contempt that it was difficult to find a clergyman willing to take it; but of late years serious attempts have been made to restore its dignity, and to invest these visitations with importance. For the last ten years these have been made with great ceremony. A service is held in church, and a sermon preached, at which masters and children are required to attend; but the real inspection of the school takes place at the annual examination, which the superintendent in his character of inspector is present at, but does not conduct.

Ecclesiastically, the authority next over the superintendent is the *General-superintendent*, or bishop, as perhaps he may be called. This grade is not wanting in Prussia, but these officers have no real authority, and are only an anomalous and recent (1828) introduction into the system. *General-superintendent* is little more than a title of honour, or at most he takes the place of president of the provincial consistory. The consistory is the authority next above the superintendent, and to which he is ecclesiastically responsible; but in school affairs this is not the case. The provincial consistory has only the superintendence of the training schools, which are

under its immediate charge, and with which the superintendent has nothing to do. But the elementary schools and schoolmasters are not, at least immediately, under the control of the consistory, but under that of a civil officer. As this civil officer, called departmental school councillor (*Regierungsschulrath*), forms one of the links in the chain of Prussian civil administration, it is necessary to pass in review the series of bureaux by which the parish officer is connected with the central government in Berlin.

2. *The State.*

The centre of the home administration of Prussia is the Ministry of the Interior, the composition of which it is not necessary to the present purpose to explain. Immediately under this ministry are the provincial presidents (*Oberpräsidenten*), one in each of the eight provinces; viz.:—Prussia, Posen, Silesia, Pomerania, Brandenburg, Saxony, Westphalia, and the Rhine. Each province is divided into departments or governments (*Regierungsbezirke*), under a prefect, styled *Regierungspräsident.* Each of these officers, who are appointed and removable by the Minister of the Interior, is assisted by a council, of which one section, properly called the consistory, is for church affairs, and another, called *Schulcollegium*, forms, with the president, a separate council for all such school affairs as are properly provincial. This council is deliberative, and its organ for administration is one of its members, who is the person usually meant when the *Provinzialschulrath* is spoken of. Though the president of the province is dependent on and reports to the Minister of the Interior, yet in respect of the affairs administered by the consistory he is dependent on and reports to the Minister of Public Worship and Instruction. Similarly, the prefect of the department has associated with him two councillors (one Protestant, one Catholic,) for school and church affairs, who form at once his advisers and separate administrators of their respective departments. Each department is again subdivided into circles (*Kreise*), administered by an officer termed a *Landrath*, who reports to the prefect of his department. For the school affairs of the circle, the *Landrath* is associated with the superintendent, whose district as school inspector is generally co-extensive with the civil circle. The subordination of civil officers in a descending series is thus:—1. Minister of the Interior; 2. President of Province; 3. Prefect of Department; 4. Landrath. Alongside of each of these, and associated with them, we find an authority for school administration:—1. Associated with the Minister of the Interior in the cabinet is the Minister of Public Worship and Education. 2. The provincial school council is by the side of the president of the province. 3. The school councillor is attached as an equal colleague to the prefect of the department. 4. The superintendent is associated with the *landrath* in the educational business of the circle.

But the affairs of the elementary schools do not pass, except formally, through the whole of this series. A division of labour is made between the provincial and the departmental school councillor, by which the former takes the management of the higher education in all the departments of the province, while the departmental

school councillor, in the affairs of the primary schools of his department, is independent of his provincial superior, and reports directly to the minister. His reports pass, indeed, through the bureau of the provincial government, but only for form's sake. The function of the president is limited to transmitting them; though he may, if he thinks fit, offer remarks on them.

In this organization, you will observe that the competency of the ecclesiastical authorities is greatly more limited than in that of Würtemberg, as just described. In the two lower stages only, in the first and second instance is the school in the hands of purely church officers; the pastor as local inspector of the school in his parish, the superintendent as district inspector. At this point the series of church officers is interrupted, and a purely civil authority, the departmental government, interposed. Secondly, instead of the consistory being, as in Würtemberg, practically the supreme executive body, it is entirely passed over in the Prussian system, as far as any control over the primary schools is concerned. Besides, the provincial consistories, by being incorporated into the provincial administration, forming a mere council for the president, conducting all the correspondence with the Minister of Public Worship through the president, and responsible in every act to the minister, occupy a quite subaltern position in the civil administration, of which they form but one of the steps. It is true that in 1850 a kind of High Consistory for the whole monarchy was called into being, with the title of *evangelische Oberkirchenrath;* but no special control over schools was conferred upon it. Its action even in church matters has been wayward and uncertain; its existence precarious, and threatened with dissolution by personal disagreements among its members. Even the superintendent is in some degree a government officer, and the bureaucratic esprit de corps is as much more powerful than the clerical, as the bureaucratic body is an organized and more numerous one. A striking instance of this is the behaviour of Catholic school councillors. In selecting a priest for this appointment, the government generally consults the wishes of the Catholic bishop. But no matter who is named to the office, however zealous a champion of ultramontane principles, he may have been before, he insensibly comes round in a year or two to view the business of his department from the government side. The parish pastor is indeed more independent than the superintendent; but his independence does not amount to a relaxation of the bonds of discipline. The amount of work he shall do in parish and school does not depend on his own will and pleasure. He has a variety of books and registers to keep, and much technical work in connexion with the schools to do, the whole of which is exactly inspected either by the superintendent or the *Schulrath.* Inactivity is not a fault with which the Evangelical parish clergyman, whether in town or country, is chargeable. The danger is much rather, I should think, that his activity takes an official form, and that his moral and spiritual influence on the school is merged in the necessity he is under of satisfying a certain measurable standard of external requirement.

In other smaller states of North Germany the organization of the executive is on the same principle as the Prussian, but the provincial centres are necessarily wanting, the division into depart-

ments, which in Prussia are subdivisions of the province, being the highest. The term circle, it may be noted (*Kreis*, or in Saxony, *Kreisdirectionsbezirk*), denotes in other countries a territorial division corresponding to the Prussian department (*Regierungsbezirk*), and what in Prussia are circles are elsewhere called dioceses (*Ephorien, Diöcesan*). In all the countries, a minister, whether as special *Cultus-minister*, or as a department of the interior, has in his hands the central direction of school affairs. The consistory is mostly set aside, whether it be actually abolished, or continue to exist with inferior functions, as in Saxony, where it is nothing more than a board of examiners, to examine candidates for clerical or scholastic offices. In nearly, but not quite all the states, the diocesan or ecclesiastical superintendent is also district inspector. In every state, without exception, I believe the institution is found to prevail that the minister of the parish is local manager of the elementary schools.

Many of the smaller states possess a general law regulating with much minuteness the details of school management. In Prussia there is, as yet, none such. The affairs of the schools are regulated in the way of administration, doubtful points being ruled as they arise by ordinances or circular letters, which serve as precedent for the future. The immense mass which has now accumulated of such ordinances has occasioned a call for a general codification of them; but the difficulties in the way are very great. Each departmental government has the power to issue an ordinance on any point of administrative detail, which, when it has had the placet of the central bureau, is valid for that department only. The central ministry sometimes rules a point in a rescript circulated to all the provinces and departments. The greatest care is taken in drawing up such rescripts. The ministry first sends the point in question round to all the departmental governments, directing them to report upon it. Not till these reports have been received and compared, and submitted to discussion in the educational bureau (*Abtheilung für Unterrichts Angelegenheiten*), is the rescript which carefully recites the previous decisions, which it either extends or abrogates, issued. This scrupulous procedure creates delay; but it gives a precision and consistency to the administrative law which abundantly compensate for it.

This is a brief outline of the general organization of educational administration. I now proceed to a more detailed account of some of its parts.

3. *Of the District Inspector.*

A circle or diocese (*Kreis, Ephorie*) is of variable size and population. It may contain only six or eight, or as many as 40 or more parishes. The civil officer who administers it is styled *Landrath* (*Kreisrath*). The ecclesiastical officer is called *superintendent* (*Dekan, Ephorus*). For the supervision of the elementary schools in the district, the superintendent is the organ of the departmental government. One portion of the duties thus incumbent on him he discharges in conjunction with the *Landrath;* the other, and more important portion, alone. A distinction well-defined, and understood in all departments of the public service, is made between "interior"

and "exterior" affairs. They are the exterior affairs of the schools which the superintendent and the civil officer transact or revise in conjunction. These are such as passing school accounts after they have been previously audited by the school board, visitation of the school premises, verification of the inventory, control of estates or other endowment funds, granting leases of ditto, adjustment of the school-rate, conduct of disciplinary proceedings against any teacher who has misconducted himself, enforcement of attendance at school, preparation of statistical returns of education in the district. The *Landrath* alone is responsible for keeping the register, which also is preserved with the archives of the circle. The internal affairs of the school, all that concerns its teaching and discipline, are controlled by the superintendent alone, acting as school inspector. The term inspector, as already explained, (see p. 172,) does not imply that he only visits and reports. In most countries he is considered as specially charged with the conduct of the teaching and discipline in his schools. In Prussia, this portion of the superintendent's duty, though it had never ceased to attach to him, appears to have been little attended to till of late years. It had come to be considered that the superintendent should only concern himself with the religious instruction. Hence the *Schulrath* has, in most parts of Prussia, come into possession of much of the authority which in other states, Saxony, Hanover, &c., has been always and is still exercised by the superintendent. In Saxony, I believe, the superintendent takes a more active part. Here, besides his regular visitation, he is in the habit of making unexpected visits, and sitting by while the regular lesson is given. He has at all times the power of ordering any alterations he may think fit in the lesson-plan, in the arrangement of the classes, or any other part of the discipline of the school. Nor does he act only on occasion of inspection, but all matters which the local inspector cannot decide are brought to him. Being visitor at once of the clergy and the schoolmasters, he inquires into the mode in which the parish pastor fulfils the duties of local inspector, his diligence in visiting, and the relations existing between him and the masters of his school. He is to encourage and assist the masters and teachers in their endeavours to improve themselves, and especially to preside in the conferences (see below, p. 264) held in the district for this purpose. He is to provide for the duties of a school during vacancy, to receive applications from candidates for the place, to give leave of absence to the master for lengthened periods, to give dispensations to children who have special grounds of inability to attend school, to give permission to use the school buildings for other purposes, &c., &c. He seldom receives any salary as inspector, the duty being regarded as an integral part of his ecclesiastical functions. He has, however, an allowance for his extraordinary expenses, and in some countries receives a small sum as compensation for any extraordinary expenses he may incur. These powers are checked, on the other hand, in various ways. The teacher has an appeal against any order of the superintendent in which he may consider he is exceeding his competency. The superintendent can only act conformably to the regulations established in the department, and in Prussia these are now exceedingly particular and minute. In Saxony he can only report in the mode of filling up a lithographed

form, which allows no scope for confidential observations. Lastly, his inspection is counterchecked by that of the departmental councillor, as well as by the occasional revision of the seminary director (see below, p. 183), which either alternate with his visits, or are in addition to them.

The superintendent makes his report annually to the government of the department. In Saxony this report is in a tabular form, and the statistics of the school are incorporated with those of the church. Besides the tables, and a short chronological notice of occurrences in the school during the year, it contains nothing. A superintendent's report in Prussia is more verbose, and contains the views and judgments of the reporter. The following directions for preparing a report, prescribed by a Westphalian department to its district inspectors, may convey some notion of its form. "Lengthiness should be avoided as much as incompleteness. The report should be modelled on the plan of a well-arranged oral statement. Its integral parts should be: 1st, Statement of facts, without any subjective colouring, in a compressed style and good arrangement, keeping each topic separate, and subjoining your authority; appendices ought only to be added when necessary, and in illustration, not in place of your own statement: 2d, A professional opinion on any case requiring it, supported by grounds, and referring to the law, the facts, the local and personal circumstances involved: 3d, A definite suggestion. In the form of your report you will observe the following directions: 1st, It must be written on the right side of a sheet of paper, so as to leave half the page blank, in a clear and legible hand, without any abbreviations: 2d, The date and place to be superscribed on the left side; underneath the date must be noted the contents of the report, and in case your report has been called for by a special commission, add the date, office, number, and letter of that commission: 3d, Each separate object must have a separate report to itself: 4th, When a report extends to several sheets, these must be properly stitched together: 6th, The time allowed for the preparation of a report to be reckoned from the day on which you receive the commission; the report must be sent in within this time, or the causes of the delay specified upon it: 7th, The report must be made to that department which issued the commission, or within whose competency the affair lies."

The influence of the superintendents, either in the church or in the school, not being at this moment in a normal condition in Prussia, does not admit of being very exactly estimated. It is a constant theme of complaint with the departmental government that the superintendents take so little interest in the schools. The superintendents, on their parts, probably feel that the department wishes to make them useful to itself without giving them a share of real power. The annual visitations of church and school which they have lately been encouraged to hold with much external ceremony may gratify younger men, and disguise from them for a time the subordinate character of the part they are intended to fill. Any real power which the superintendents may aspire to can only be given them at the expense of the *Schulrath*. At present the relations between the bureaucratic and the ecclesiastical establishments are friendly and intimate. But should the Evangelical clergy, stimulated by the example of the Roman Catholic hierarchy,

endeavour to wrest from the government the same amount of authority and patronage over their schools which the Catholic bishops enjoy over theirs, it would probably give rise to a formidable renewal of former struggles between the secular and spiritual authorities, of which the result is impossible to be predicted.

4. *Of the Local Inspector.*

The powers which the superintendent possesses over the schools in the diocese are exercised by the pastor of each parish over the schools in his parish. Every single school, or school-union (*Schulverband*), has its own board of managers. The constitution and action of this board will be presently described, (see p. 187,) but everywhere without exception the pastor is a member of it. The same distinction as before being made between the external and internal affairs of the school, the *Pfarrer*, in his capacity of inspector, transacts the latter alone; the former require to be brought before the board of managers (*Schulvorstand*). He is required to visit the schools, not merely on stated occasions, or at the time of examination, but diligently; in Saxony, at least once a week; nor is he there only to see and report; he is to consider himself charged with the welfare of the school, to assist and support the master, to acquaint himself with the individual children, to watch their progress, and to form a medium between the master and the parents. As local inspector his principal duties are to watch the school attendance, to see that the list of absences is correctly kept, to report them to the superintendent, to endeavour to work upon the parents by moral means to send their children regularly, to see to the keeping of the master's book (*Schultagebuch, Schuldiarium, Stoffbuch, &c.*), to arrange the lesson-list in concert with the master, to preside in the conferences (see below, p. 264) periodically held of the teachers in his school-union, and to endeavour to give a tone to their debates. In some cases the *Pfarrer* fixes the length and the time of the holidays, and can give the master leave of absence for a period of two or three days, but not for longer. Whenever provision is made for separate religious instruction of children of different denominations, the pastor must see that this is properly carried out. He is also the organ through whom the superior authority communicates with the board of managers. The superintendent has to see that the *Pfarrer* attends to the school. In some countries he is made to register his own attendance. A book is kept in the school, in which, whenever he visits, the *Pfarrer* enters the date of the visit, specifying whether morning or afternoon school, the number of children present, with what lessons they were occupied, what means he took of judging of the progress of the children, and testing the efficiency of the master; any remarks he judged it necessary to make to the master; anything he observed in the deportment and behaviour of the children. This book is sent in annually to the department, and forms thus a mode of controlling the diligence of the *Pfarrer*, though its ostensible purpose is a report on the school.

His share in the management of the school by no means exhausts all the part of the clergyman in the education of the people. The religious teaching of the children is almost entirely done by himself, and involves much labour. There is the preparation for confirmation,

which is not confined to a few half hours of catechising, but is a daily lesson of at least an hour. Every young person in the parish passes under his hands. It takes place generally before Easter, and lasts in some countries for six weeks, in others for three months, in others for even longer. In Würtemberg every candidate for confirmation has to attend the course twice; once as listener; the second time as catechumen. It forms a systematic course of teaching, in which the Scripture history and the portions of Luther's catechism learnt at school are gone over and explained, and the learner is then taken through the more advanced doctrines of his church. In Würtemberg, besides the confirmation preparation, the *Pfarrer* has to give instruction in religion in the school at least two hours per week throughout the year, taking in the country usually the first class only, but in Stuttgard the two upper classes.

To what extent the local clergyman uses the large powers thus enjoyed by him is very variable, depending on the individual, or on the temper of the neighbourhood. In some places the board of management seems to have entirely collapsed, and the schools practically to be under the sole management of the parish pastor. In other places, especially in large towns, the clergy seem almost to have retired from the movement, and the town council are administering their own schools. It is observable that this abstinence of the clergy in Berlin and other cities is not due to their having been set aside or thrust out by the central power. It is chiefly that the amount of work required by school management is too large to be done in addition to the proper pastoral duties of the clerical office. But it is also true that the clergy in some cities are alienated, especially on the subject of school management, from the views of the *commune*. The local spirit is very weak over all parts of North Germany; so weak that many observers deny that it exists at all. It does, however, show itself here and there, under protection of the few forms of self-government which the bureaucratic system has not absorbed. One of these forms is the school delegacy (*Schuldeputation*, see below, p. 188) in Prussia. In proportion as the lay element in the school-delegacy or school-board is active, we too often find the clergyman remaining neuter, or becoming hostile to the school. There are not wanting liberal-minded clergy who are content to do their part towards the school, under the control of the city school-councillor (*städtische Schulrath*). In Stuttgard this officer is a theologian; but it is not the fact that he is generally a layman which creates the dissatisfaction, for the clergyman feels no difficulty in working under the departmental *Schulrath*, though also a layman. The difference is, that the one is an officer of the central government, and the other of the local *commune*, and the sympathies of the clergy are at present with the central power, which they too often join in its efforts to distress these last and most obnoxious remains of municipal freedom. Nor is this attitude of the clergy confined to the towns. Complaints are made of their general want of interest in the schools. The government of Merseberg (Prussian Saxony), in its report for the year 1858, says, "The former longing on the part of the teachers for emancipation from clerical inspection has disappeared, at least as far as its outward and visible signs go, but the interest of the

clergy in the schools has not increased in the same proportion. We must repeat our complaint of a not inconsiderable number of clergy and local inspectors, who by no means attend to their schools with the care and the love which their office requires of them. This very same class of clergy find it unnecessary or inconvenient to attend the conferences, and the mutual school visits, which in some dioceses are coupled with the conferences. As, however, we are able to report that the life in most of these conferences is becoming constantly more and more brisk and vigorous, and as the king's government never ceases its admonitions, we may hope that its power will shortly become too great for the reluctant clergy any longer to withhold their concurrence and support." To the same effect is a monition addressed last year by the consistory of the province of ———— to the clergy of the province.

"The first words with which we open the new year, and with which we join our greetings and wishes of the season to you, concern a subject of the highest importance, viz., school inspection.

"We know that the number of pastors is not small who do not neglect the duty of school visitation which their office imposes on them, and feel a true joy in aiding to build up through this means the kingdom of God. But by the side of these stand others of you, as we unhappily know, who take but little part in this duty, and make us doubt their possessing any true love for the same. We are therefore impelled, calling to mind our address to you of 25 August 1851, to impress upon you again the natural alliance between church and school; an alliance which the servants of the church ought to be the last to break. We earnestly entreat and enjoin upon the reverend pastors, that they be assiduous in visiting the schools placed under their inspection,—the affiliated no less than the chief school; and, further, that they do not confine themselves herein to superintendence of the religious teaching only, but that they keep an eye upon the contents and form of the whole instruction given; that they endeavour the maintenance of school discipline in the way of Christian wisdom; that they be friendly guides to the teacher, lightening by sympathy and encouragement the griefs and burdens of his calling, ready, if need be, to supply his place, but not shrinking from stern reproof of error, or exhortation to the conscientious discharge of duty; readily taking their part in the conferences of the teachers according to the diocesan regulation. From the reverend superintendents we expect that, both in their visitation reports and on other occasions when they have to speak of the conduct of their clergy, they will always include a judgment on the measure of devotion and discernment which has been shown by them in the inspection of their schools."

Thus the central power, far from showing any jealousy of the clergy coming into too close contact with the schools, regards them as its indispensable instruments in holding in check the instinct of self-government on the part of the *communes*, and would gladly interpose the clergyman personally, as well as the influence of the church, to take off a part of the odium which necessarily attaches to all governing. There is, indeed, one point where the pastor can do more than any other authority finds itself able to do; that of school attendance. The moral influence of the clergyman reaches here what the law cannot reach. Again, the perpetual intrusive-

ness of the central government is apt to produce, in country *communes*, an opposite feeling to that just described; that is, one of indifference to or alienation from the school as a government institution; an indifference which can best be combated by the zeal of the clergyman. Lastly, there is the schoolmaster, with the susceptibilities of his position, and his standing grievance of a starving salary, to be kept in heart for his heavy and ill-rewarded labour. All these calls upon his tact and patience make the position of the parish pastor who tries to do his duty as inspector a very trying one. There are to be found, and not rarely, throughout Protestant Germany, ministers who, themselves labouring under the anxieties of a narrow income, without hope or prospect of reward or distinction, in a true spirit of evangelical love and long-suffering more persuasive than exhortation, contend bravely with all these trials, display energy under the eye of an official superior, stir up the lethargy of the *commune*, conciliate the estrangement of the parent, and soothe and support the schoolmaster. But it is not to be concealed that another spirit has in the last 20 years begun to diffuse itself among the Protestant clergy, which is said to be acting unfavourably upon the relations of the parish pastor to the schools and to education. I mean a tendency to enforce the hierarchial claims of the church by appeals to authority and secular influences. It is beyond both the scope of this memoir and my own knowledge of facts to describe the influence of the new High Lutheran movement on elementary education. To pass over, however, without allusion the most prominent feature of the present situation, was equally impossible, when the connexion of church and school had to be spoken of. The position of the pastor as local inspector is one not created by legislation or by government, but accepted by them as a social necessity. It has much deeper roots in society than those artificial administrative expedients which can be re-arranged at any moment. Any new opinion, therefore, which so powerfully affects the pastor's own view of his duties and relations cannot but be of great importance in such an inquiry as the present. Yet while it is easy to state the technical competency of the various officers and bureaux as they are defined by order or usage, and even to give some idea of the way in which they work in practice, the relation in which the clergy stand to popular education is too difficult a subject for a report which is expected to present the results of observation, not a view of conflicting opinions. I shall only record here what is an historical fact. Whatever were the follies and delusions of the era of disturbance 1848–9, there is no doubt that the real sentiments and feelings of the middle and lower classes came to the surface then, and that the observer who wishes to know the weak points and sore places of German home administration must look to those times to see them exposed to light. Now, as was to be expected, among the fundamental questions then agitated in public, that of popular education was not absent. There was no agitation against the compulsory school attendance. The form which the question assumed was that of emancipation of the school (*Autonomie*). It is even now debated what this phrase meant in the mouths of those who then used it, and no doubt it included aspirations vague and various. It meant, however, to claim for the school some degree of greater independence, not upon the state, but upon

the church. Various parties urged varying degrees of this independence. The extreme party desired to banish all denominational religious instruction from the school, and to leave that to be taught in the church by the minister. The more moderate party wished that religious instruction should continue to be given in the school, and that the church should retain the right of inspection over this religious instruction only. The time which has elapsed since, appears to have wrought a general conviction among all practical men, that the denominational school is the only school that is at present possible in Germany. Secular education may still be argued for, here and there, as a theory, but simultaneous schools on the Massachusetts plan is not now the aim of any educational party. On the other hand, it does not appear that the schoolmasters are at all more reconciled than they ever were to the system of local inspection. The masters complain that the local inspector, not being a professional teacher, knows and cares nothing for all that art and method (*Pädagogik*) which he himself learnt with so much pains in the seminary; that he has not, in fact, the means of knowing when a class is well or ill handled. Skill in teaching, like any other skill, can only be appraised by the professionally trained. In other professions it is the experienced who inspect the inexperienced. But here a schoolmaster, who may have spent his life in practising the principles he learnt in the seminary, may find himself officially subject to a young minister, raw from the university, who was never before inside an elementary school, and is wholly ignorant of the principles of teaching. If the pastor is modest, he leaves the master alone; but if he is anxious to be doing something, the master may have a great deal to endure, and may be well pleased if the *Pfarrer* limits his inspection to making the master write out a detailed time-table, and then coming to the school from time to time unexpectedly, to see if the master is giving the lessons, and at the hour, he prescribed himself. The local inspector is by social position, by income, by his university education, the superior of the schoolmaster; but it may easily happen, especially in the present state of the training for theological students in some of the Prussian universities, that he is his inferior in variety of knowledge and mental cultivation. In such cases, where political divisions exist, it will be easily understood that the schoolmaster and clergyman adopt different sides. The master insinuates in the congregation contempt of the clergyman; the clergyman denounces the master to the government as "ill-disposed." The remedy for this state of discord was to be found partly in altering the character of the education which the master received; partly providing that the minister shall be better qualified for the special duties of local inspector. What the Government of Prussia, in particular, has done since the date of the famous *Regulativ* of 1854 to form the school teacher on a better model, by concentrating his powers on the art he has to practise, that of teaching, will have to be described further on (see p. 225). It belongs to this part of the subject to mention what provision there is for training the theological student for the future management of his parish school.

The necessity for such special training of the ministers began to be felt from the time that the masters began to be trained to their

profession. From that time forward consistories in all parts of Germany have continued to insist upon the obligation, in general terms, but no satisfactory method of enforcing it has yet been devised. The first attempt was when in the examination of candidates for orders, the examination "pro ministerio," the art of teaching (*Pädagogik*) was required among other subjects. This was in Prussia in 1799. It required only a short experience to show the inadequacy of an examination paper on such a subject, and some consistories accordingly added the requirement that the candidate of theology should hold a catechetical exercise in the presence of the examiners. Further experience showed, 1st, that the candidates of theology, never having practised the giving of oral lessons, were quite unable to hold this exercise; and, 2d, that an oral lesson, even when well given, is a very small part of the technical knowledge requisite in the management of a school. In 1842, therefore, after consulting the provincial consistories, the Prussian government adopted the rule which is still in force, viz., that all candidates of theology should attend for six weeks as auditors in some seminary. Without a certificate of having done so from the director of the seminary, no candidate can be ordained. Besides this, he must have attended a course of *Pädagogik* in the university. This measure was probably as much as could be exacted, but its inadequacy for its purpose is no secret. That which the future minister needs to learn is the management and organization of a school, the handling of a school-class, the treatment of children, &c.; but by this ordinance he is required to be present at the lessons given in the seminary on Scripture history, reading, arithmetic, &c., from which even the most ignorant candidate of theology can have nothing to learn. Besides, I believe, all those candidates who are themselves engaged in teaching, as house tutors (*Hauslehrer*) or otherwise—no inconsiderable number—are dispensed from this attendance. It is difficult to enforce by law upon any large body of men the attainment of any high standard even in their own vocation. The difficulty is vastly increased when what is required is that they shall qualify themselves in some other art secondary and foreign to it. To keep a system of schools, good and bad, in working order, requires the time of a skilled inspector, and cannot be done by men primarily devoted to other duties. This difficulty would hardly be met by the establishment of theological colleges, in which school management would be made part of the course; a favourite scheme of many persons in Germany, and which is said to have had the approbation of von Altenstein, the eminent Minister of Instruction in Prussia, from 1816–1840. On the other hand, the parish pastor has it in his power to render such essential service to the school within the strictest line of his ministerial duties, that his co-operation must be secured; and it is found that he will not interest himself for it, nor could he be expected to do so, unless allowed a bonâ fide share in its management. Meanwhile, as a temporary substitute for the professional inspector a plan is adopted in Prussia of sending the director of the seminary to visit a given number of schools in his neighbourhood. Besides securing the services of a competent inspector, there is an advantage in this, that the director is already

acquainted with the character and abilities of the masters, who will most of them have passed under his hands in the seminary, and is able to take a more exact measure of their progress. It is also cheap for the government, as the director receives nothing beyond his expenses.

5. *Funds for the Support of the School.*

In nearly every country there are endowment funds of more or less amount applicable to school purposes. These arise partly from charitable bequests in later times, but mainly from the secularized church property, in the application of the revenues derived from which education has from the first held a principal place. In some countries, however, the objects to which these sequestrated monastic lands are applied are so wide, that though the revenue may be large, the schools obtain but a small share. In all cases this species of property is in the hands of the central government, even where, as in Brunswick, its accounts are separately kept, and managed by a special department. Even the revenues of the charitable bequests have for the most part come into the hands of the government, which is not only the best and most economical administrator, but makes very large grants in aid to meet either the original bequest or the subsequent conveyance of it. In this way the celebrated Francke Foundation at Halle is now a government institution, the government meeting the thlr. 20,000, which the original foundation produces, with a nearly equal sum. Of such charitable bequests government is merely the administrator, and they are therefore locally expended. Of the monastic sequestrations it is considered as assignee, and they are treated as general revenue, only divided in fixed proportions between Catholic and Protestant objects. In the Prussian revenue sheet for the year 1859 the total amount of income derived from foundations figures for—

Thlr. 326,000 applicable to educational purposes only.
„ 154,000 applicable to public worship *and* education.

These sums are met on the part of the central government by grants of thlr. 59,400 and thlr. 94,100 respectively, applied exclusively to the local purposes of these charities. But this statement does not distinguish in what proportions the total amount is derived from church lands or recent charitable bequest, nor in what proportions it is applied to Catholic or Protestant objects. In the kingdom of Würtemberg the crown, by an arbitrary act, annexed to its own domain the whole of the church and school property throughout the kingdom, but the sums now paid out of revenue for church and school purposes far exceed the income so derived.

Of such local and special endowment funds the share applicable to the elementary school is naturally small. It may therefore be said that nearly the whole cost of the immense amount of elementary education required is defrayed out of the annual income of the community. It is obtained from three sources:—1. The school-fees (*Schulgeld*) paid by the children. 2. A local rate. 3. The general taxation of the country. Of these three sources, it is the second which bears nearly the whole weight of the burden.

For as to the first and third source, the principles almost universally recognized are, that the children are only to pay what they can, and that the general budget is only to come in after the strictest proof of incapacity on the part of the locality.

It is not at the option of a *commune* whether it will have and maintain a school or no, or what number of masters it shall have in its school. Every *commune* is bound to find school-room and teaching for all the children of school age who belong to it.

These are general principles, which hold almost universally for Germany. The mode of assessing the local rate varies in different countries. The following is the practice existing in the kingdom of Saxony. Each *commune* is empowered to fix its own *cataster*, or rating-book, in which every family forming part of the *commune* is rated at so much. The principle by which it must be guided in laying this assessment is the consideration of how much the parents can afford to pay; *not* how much is required to cover the cost of the school. The law only fixes a minimum of one groschen per week, and a maximum of 15 dollars a year. These sums so assessed are the school-fees. They are collected by the school board (see below, p. 187), which applies them as far as they go to the maintenance of the school. For the remaining part of the outlay on the school not covered by the fees, the board must apply to the *commune*. Each *commune* has four funds or purses, which ought to be kept separate, but often are not; the church-fund, the school-fund, the poor-fund, and the town-fund. Into the school-fund flow some small revenues, such as the fines for non-attendance (see p. 193), the collection in church on one Sunday set apart for the purpose, and certain surpluses from what is called the church treasury (not the church fund,) altogether of small amount. The remainder of the outlay on the school has to be met by a rate levied on the *commune* by itself. This rate is assessed in the following way:—First a capitation-tax is levied on every male member of the *commune*, poor and rich alike; then all the remainder required which is not met by the above sources is raised by a rate on property. This rate is levied in the same method as all the other rates; church rate, poor rate, &c.; that of tax units (*Steuerinheiten*). It is a rate according to valuation, but the valuation is very loose. The general taxation of the country is never employed in aid of the parish school, except in those extreme cases in which the *commune* can plead poverty, and where there are no endowment funds out of which it can receive succour. The amount of such charitable endowments in the hereditary dominions of the Saxon crown is insignificant. Only in Upper Lusatia is there a foundation called the *Nostiz Weichsdorf*, the income of which, *circ.* 8,000 dollars, is applied chiefly to school purposes. In cases where the *commune* applies for government aid, it must make a statement of its means, in the method just described to the inspector (*respect.* the patron), who examines it, and if he finds it valid, transmits it to the departmental government (*kreisdirection*), by whom it is forwarded to the Minister of Instruction. Here the statement is tested, and if it is found that disability is made out on the part of the *commune*, the deficiency is made up by a grant out of the state funds. The small sum of 20,000 dollars is the whole amount annually voted in the

budget for such allowances to poor parishes. (Kingdom of Saxony; square miles 271; pop. (1855) 2,039,176.)

In Prussia, when a *commune* pleads poverty, the *landrath* has to scrutinize its budget, in order to see that nothing is charged upon it preferentially, the school ranking with the first claims on the local purse. In Baden, government grants towards current expenses can only be made when the necessary rate would otherwise exceed a certain fixed poundage. In Saxony, as will have been observed, the principle of the rate is a combination of a personal and a property tax. In other countries it is purely a personal tax; so much a family in Würtemberg; so much a head in Brunswick. In Prussia, the mode of assessment varies with the usage of every district; often of every manor. Where there is no special usage, they rate on the principle of the state tax called the *Classensteuer*. The principle of local rate was, I believe, first introduced into Prussia by the code of 1794 (*Allgemeines Landrecht*, th. ii. tit. 12. s. 29.) "Where there are no endowments for the support of the common schools, there the maintenance of the teacher falls upon the collective householders, without distinction of religion. The contributions requisite for this purpose, whether they be paid in money or kind, must be equitably divided among the householders in the proportion of their property and holdings." From the Prussian code this has gradually passed into the law of other countries.

As the *commune* might endeavour to make the burden easier to itself by underpaying the teacher, provision is made against this in many countries, by fixing a minimum of salary, which varies with population and years of service. In Prussia, the power of fixing in each instance the amount of teachers' stipend rests with the departmental government. The poor pay of the schoolmaster had been long an acknowledged evil, and something, though little, had been doné to correct it in the 20 years preceding 1848. In the revolutionary period, this, like other grievances, made itself loudly heard; and by a cabinet rescript, 6th March 1852, each government is directed to review in detail the masters' stipends in its department, and to raise them permanently to such sum as it shall consider sufficient. The principle to guide it in doing this is to be the usage of the district, and the requirements of living in it. The mention of any normal sum was particularly avoided. This method possesses obvious advantages over the legislative enactment of a minimum in a kingdom like Prussia, composed of countries so various in wealth, in style, and cost of living, that what is a handsome income in one is a bare subsistence in another. It may, however, be questioned if this advantage be not dearly purchased by such an inroad of the executive upon the right of self-taxation as is made by this cabinet rescript. What makes it more arbitrary is, that it had been already ruled that the decision of the departmental government was without appeal, and therefore a *commune* which may consider itself overrated has no legal remedy. A discretion was further allowed, by the rescript, to the several governments, of giving priority to "faithful conduct in office;" a phrase which, it has been alleged, has received a political interpretation. However, in the last seven

years progress has been made in improving the condition of the schoolmaster under this cabinet order. The total amounts added to the annual salary of elementary masters in all the Prussian provinces stand as follows for the year 1857:—

—	Paid by the Communes.	Contributed by Government	
		Out of Endowment Funds.	Out of general Taxation.
Prussia 1857.	Thalers.	Thalers.	Thalers.
Amount by which Schoolmasters salaries were raised - -	117,934	11,908	35,000

The absolute amount is not large, but it must be remembered that it represents the additions of a single year; and as the state is proportionally so large a contributor, it seems to acquire the right to some voice in deciding what the *commune* shall pay.

6. *Of the Local Boards.*

In some countries, as in Würtemberg, the church board (*Kirchenconvent*) in each parish undertakes the management of the schools also. This is one of the grafts from the Presbyterian system of which I have already spoken (see p. 170). So I have met in places in Prussia, *e.g.*, Neuwied on the Rhine, with the usage that the presbytery is *Schulvorstand*, both for the Lutheran and the Reformed schools, the majority of the Protestant inhabitants here being Reformed, because the Prince of Weid (now mediatised) happened to be so at the time of the Reformation.

In Saxony, the communal council (*gemeinderath*), or, in small towns, the *Stadtrath*, exercises this power itself, employing the pastor as their administrative organ. When the *commune* is so large that the communal council would therefore be a body too large for the purpose, it can entrust the school management to a delegacy of its number. In all cases the clergyman of the parish is ex officio chairman of the board for school purposes. It may happen in country places that several parishes, or parts of several parishes, unite to form one school union. In this case the directory of the circle decides which of the pastors shall be official inspector and chairman of the board, the other pastor or pastors retaining the right of visiting the schools. The patron of the school has the right to be present. Should he choose to exercise this right, which he rarely does, he has the honorary presidency, and the clergyman acts as vice-president, and keeps the minutes.

In Prussia, and in other states which have copied from her, we find each school having its own board of management (*Schulvorstand*). These boards are variously constituted, but the principle generally recognized is, that 1. The patrons (if any), 2. The parochial clergy, 3. The municipal authorities, 4. The householders, should all be represented in them. In some of the smaller states the government has simply assumed to itself the nomination of the elective members. In most Prussian provinces the house-

holders choose their own representative into the school board; but various curtailments of this freedom of election have been made of late years, *e.g.*, The regulations issued 15th October 1858 for the department of Marienwerder in East Prussia, which contain the most recent legislation on the subject of the school-board, provide that the *Landrath* of the circle may, in his discretion, refuse to confirm the election of any representative so chosen by the householders, and for this refusal he is not obliged to assign any grounds. The householders must then proceed to the election of another person in the place of the person so set aside; and should the *Landrath* see reason to reject their presentee a second time, the *commune* loses the right of election for that time, and the place is filled up by the *Landrath*. Further, should any member of the board not discharge his functions satisfactorily to the *Landrath*, that officer may declare his place vacant, and require the *commune* to proceed to a new election. This is, in fact, to take away the election from the *commune*, and to make it a nomination by the *Landrath*. A still more arbitrary provision in these regulations is that by which the chairman is empowered to suspend any resolution regularly passed by a majority of the board to which he may himself object, provided that within eight days he lays his objection before the *Landrath*, or the district inspector, who then decides upon its validity. Such provisions, wherever they are introduced, annihilate the local board as an independent body of managers, and its continued existence becomes merely a mockery of self-administration. It may almost be thought superfluous to detail the functions of a body so constituted. They are as follow: The board is expected to meet, once a quarter, in the school-house, on a day to be fixed by the chairman. These are its ordinary sittings. The chairman may call it together at other times, if necessary. Its competency extends only to the "external" (see p. 176) affairs of the school. On the "internal" it may advise the local inspector, but it has no voice. The most important part of the external affairs is the revenue and expenditure of the school, for the administration of which the board is responsible immediately to the *Landrath*. The board are trustees of the school buildings, of all land or monies belonging to the school, master's residence, &c. They have to see that the hours of schooling are strictly kept to, that no more than the regular holidays are taken, and they are to employ their moral influence with the parents to secure punctuality of attendance. Dispensations from attendance for periods longer than one week must be applied for to the board. The members of the board are expected to be present at all examinations and other public solemnities of the school. They receive no remuneration, and are obliged to serve for six years. The schoolmaster is in many countries (not in Prussia) allowed to be present at the meetings of the board, but has no vote. In Brunswick the consistory may, if it pleases, confer the right of voting on any master.

The school delegacy (*Schuldeputation*) is an institution peculiar to Prussia. It is formed in large towns only for the collective management of all the city schools, and is a far more independent body than the *Schulvorstand* in country places, more capable of holding its own against the central government, and, therefore, in many places, a special object of its dislike and disfavour. These

boards, like the municipal corporations of which they are a part, and with which they are coeval, were first established in 1808, at the time of the great reforms in the administration. They have shared the vicissitudes of the corporations. Established at a moment when it was desired to call forth all the energies of the country, more power was parted with to them than was consistent with bureaucratic uniformity in ordinary times. Unable, however, to recall its grant, the central power has striven to corrode it away, and we have a series of edicts having for their object to restrain and limit the school delegacies in the exercise of their powers. One of these, as recent as 27th February 1858, reproves the school delegacy of Berlin for having examined some candidates as teachers of needlework without having first sought the permission of the provincial government, and obtained the presence of a royal commissary at the examination.

The advantages of the *Schuldeputation*, however, are so apparent that the adoption of the system in other countries is much urged. It was introduced into the city of Brunswick, but under the name *Schulvorstand*, in 1851, and has been found of great use in giving tone and vigour to the school system there, especially in relieving the city clergy, not so much of labour as of the odium of constantly enforcing the school attendance. The corporation, too, have been induced by its means to do a great deal for schools since 1851, and have laid out large sums in building, &c. The *Schulvorstand* in Brunswick consists of the president of the common council of the city, of the senior pastor, a representative of the municipal corporation, a representative of the church boards of every parish in the city, and of one paid member, styled *Schuldirector*, who is the organ of the delegacy for administrative purposes. It is immediately responsible to the consistory.

The powers of the *Schuldeputation* in Prussia extend not only over the elementary but also over the higher schools. A short description of the school system of Berlin will perhaps be the best mode of exhibiting the action of this body.

Berlin is rich in schools and institutions for education of every grade, and for every walk in life; and the Berlin schools are schools almost wholly for Berlin only. The capital is not here, as in some countries, an educational centre, in the same way as it is a commercial or political centre. The custom universal throughout Prussia, that all the schools are day schools, prevails here also. Children are not unfrequently sent from the provinces or from foreign countries to Berlin to be educated. But in these cases the children either live with relatives, or are boarded in families. Even of the grammar schools only two have foundation boarders; in one case 12, in the other 30. The schools, therefore, cannot be congregated in any one quarter of the city. It is necessary that they should be distributed as equally as possible over the whole area on which the city stands; that they should follow the population. And this is in fact the case. With few exceptions, every family has an elementary school within such an easy distance as to make it no hardship for children of seven years of age to walk to and fro four times a day. The higher schools, though necessarily at a wider interval, are in like manner placed so as to be as nearly as possible central to those classes of the population which use

them. Only the grammar schools, from their very nature, are less capable of transplantation or multiplication. The situation of the grammar schools, however, is not unfavourable for the resort of their scholars. Four out of the seven which Berlin possesses are placed, at no great distance from each other, towards the centre of the city. While as Berlin tends to grow rather towards the west than towards the east, two others have been planted in modern times, one in the direction of the south-western district, the other, quite recently (1850), towards the north-eastern quarter. Thus within a circuit of 15 miles, which is the compass of the barrier, the opportunity of attending a day school according to their destination in life is placed within the reach of every child.

The population of Berlin at the last Census, December 1858, exclusive of military and students, was 463,645, of whom *circ.* 15,000 were Jews. The total number of schools of every kind is at present (April 1859), 200; the total number of children attending these schools, 54,894.

Classified according to the quality of the education given, this total of 200 schools divides itself into (1) higher, (2) middle, and (3) elementary.

Again, these schools are either, 1, public schools; 2, schools belonging to particular congregations, societies, corporations, trustees, &c.; 3, private schools.

Lastly, in respect of management and superintendence, the Berlin schools are either—

A. immediately dependent on the school council of the province (Brandenburg), or

B. dependent upon the school delegacy of the municipal council of the city of Berlin.

To A. belong,—

Gymnasien - - - -	3 (out of 7).
The Royal Real Schule, with its preparatory school - - - -	2
The Royal Training College for elementary masters - - - -	1
The Elisabeth School - - -	1
The 2 schools in the Friedrich's Stadt -	2
The Catholic schools - - -	5
The schools of the French Congregations -	6
The schools of the Bohemian do. -	3
Schools of old foundation - - -	3 (?)

In all some 30 schools.

The great majority, therefore, of the schools, whether higher, middle, or lower, are under the control of the local city authorities.

But these two authorities are not co-ordinate and independent. The municipality of the city of Berlin is itself responsible to the central government of the province. As in its other affairs the city is controlled by the council of the province of Brandenburg, so in its school management it has to render an account to the educational council of the province. (See supra, p. 173).

The administration of all the affairs of the city is lodged with a body consisting of 34 members, called the *Magistrat*, elected by the municipal council. The *Magistrat* does not exercise its school

management itself, but through the medium of a standing delegacy instituted for that purpose only.

This delegacy (*Schuldeputation*) consists of 2 paid school delegates (*Stadtschulräthe*), 6 other members of the *Magistrat*, 12 members of the municipal council, 3 members directly chosen by the citizens, the 3 superintendents, the president of the school commission, and a Jewish rabbi.

The two paid school delegates are also members of the *Magistrat*, and like the other members of the *Magistrat* are elected by the municipal council. They are also, in practice, the executive members of the school delegacy. This threefold capacity, as well as their more minute knowledge of the affairs of the schools, naturally makes them the most influential members of the delegacy. They divide the executive part of their duty between them; one taking the higher and middle; the other the elementary schools.

The school delegacy, as the committee of the *Magistrat*, have the entire management and regulation of the affairs of the city schools (B), with the following exceptions:—The patronage and revenues of such congregational or other schools as belong to special corporations, &c.; 2. The school of industry, and the *collnisches Realgymnasium*, are managed directly by the *Magistrat*; 3. The *Magistrat* has also appropriated to itself the management of the newly-founded *Realschule*, but this is contested by the school delegacy.

The school delegacy, again, in all its proceedings is controlled by the *Magistrat*. An appeal lies to the *Magistrat* from any ordinance issued by the delegacy. The school affairs are divided into general affairs and particular affairs (*generalien*, *spezialien*). No general resolutions passed by the school delegacy are valid till they have been ratified by the *Magistrat*. And over all special business the *Magistrat* possesses the right of control and interference.

Though the schools in category A. are not placed under the supervision of the corporation of Berlin, their managers are obliged to furnish the school delegacy with all such information as that body may demand for the purpose of maintaining a complete acquaintance with the school organism of Berlin, and of enforcing the compulsory attendance. Especially are they bound to acquaint the delegacy whenever it is in contemplation to erect a new school, or to discontinue or transfer one already in existence.

These are the general attributes of the school delegacy, as the organ of the corporation for the management of all its schools, whether they be higher, middle, or elementary. I have now to describe more particularly the machinery by which it exercises its powers over the elementary schools.

Immediately under the school delegacy stands the school board (*Vorstand*). Each school has its own board, which is the organ of the delegacy for its supervision and management. This board is composed of—1. The clergyman of the parish, who presides at the sittings of the board; 2. Two lay members chosen by the *Magistrat* and the municipal council. They are chosen for three years, and are re-eligible on the expiration of their term. This board of curators has the duty of seeing that all the general orders and regulations are carried into effect by the head master. They make an annual report upon their school to the school delegacy.

Under the superintendence of this board the head master (*Hauptlehrer, Vorsteher*) has the general conduct and government of the school.

These are the links of the chain which connects the individual school with the central authority. The head master manages the school under his own school board. This board makes its annual report to the school delegacy. The delegacy, which is itself only the organ of the corporation, and as such reports to the *Stadtverordneten*, hands in this report to the school council of the province (Brandenburg), which like the other provincial councils is controlled by the Minister of Education.

Of the total number of children in all the schools in Berlin (54,894), one half at least were attending the elementary schools. The outlay of the city, over and above the school fees, is not far short of thlr. 200,000. The cost to the city of the education of each child in its elementary schools may be put at 1*l.* sterling per annum, and the total expenditure on the schools at 12 per cent. of the whole municipal budget.

7. *Compulsory School Attendance.*

Compulsory school attendance is the corner stone of the system of primary education throughout Germany. It is all but universal, though the mode of enforcing it may be variable. In every state of Germany, with the exception, I believe, of Hamburg and Frankfort-on-the-Maine, all the children of both sexes between certain ages are required to be at school.

In this legislation we must distinguish two degrees, which are often confounded, but are really widely apart. 1. Where the law requires that the education of the children shall be properly cared for, but leaves the parents the choice of the method, they may send them to what school they please, or may employ a private teacher at home. This was the law in Prussia till 1857, and is still so in many states. 2. Where the parents are restrained from sending their children to any other school than that for which they are registered. The first regulation (1) is viewed as a necessary protection for the child's interests; the second (2) is a measure of police for facilitating the control of the school attendance. The first is often called colloquially, *Schulzwang*, but that term in its legal and correct sense is used to denote the second (2) only. In this, its proper sense, *Schulzwang*, is the law of Saxony, Würtemberg, Bavaria, Baden, and some other states. In 1857 it was introduced into Prussia, and in the spirit of that period the power of granting dispensations was vested in the *Landrath*. It is complained of, among other things, for the invidious distinction created in administering it between poor and rich; no attempts being made to enforce it in the case of the latter. Where a dispensation is obtained from attending the district school, parents must state the motives of the application, and the school to which they propose to remove the child, and in some cases continue to pay the school fees or a part of them.

The usage of the several countries varies but little as to school age. The Prussian code fixed the completion of the child's fifth

year as the period when its attendance should begin, and in the Saxon province it is customary to go at that age. In other provinces attendance is not compelled till the end of the sixth, though allowed at the end of the fifth; a distinction which is marked by the words *schulpflichtig* and *schulfähig*. Generally, I believe, no use is made of the permission, as the schools are mostly already overfilled. The masters are not favourable to children beginning to learn too young, and experience and physiology condemn it. The new Würtemberg law of 6 Nov. 1858 has removed its term from æt. six to æt. seven, and the new Saxon law from æt. five to æt. six; and it might not be impossible that the practice of Hamburg, where the children begin at æt. eight, would be more generally followed, were it not that there is another tendency, viz., the claims of labour, making itself felt, and pushing in the opposite direction, to get the school age to begin earlier, in order that it may end the sooner. The duration of the period of school attendance is in most countries eight years; in some parts of Prussia usage extends it to nine; in the new Saxe-Coburg law of 15 June 1858 it is reduced to less than seven years. It is much less by law than by the manners of the people that school time is universally terminated by confirmation (*Einsegnung*); a rite which, with its accompanying first communion, obtains in the Lutheran population the same social importance as in the Roman Catholic.

It is not enough to bring the children to school, or to enter their names in the school register, unless their regular attendance is also secured. This point is accordingly guarded in the German system with as much vigilance as the former. To take a single province of Prussia, Silesia, *e.g.*, it is the duty of the pastor and the schoolmaster to use all their moral influence with the parents to make the children come punctually and regularly. But this moral persuasion can be enforced, if need be, by an appeal to the police. The police office of the place makes out the list of the children as they arrive at the school-age. This list is put into the hands of the school board, which from that moment becomes responsible for the attendance of all whose names are inscribed in that register. The master keeps the book of absences, marking them as "excused" or "inexcused;" and it is one of the duties of the school board in its periodical meetings (see p. 188) to watch this book. The board, through the inspector or some other of its members, admonishes the parent or guardian. If the offence be repeated, they send in the offender's name to the police office, and he is mulcted in a small fine for each day of the child's absence. In case of nonpayment he is sent to gaol for a period corresponding to the amount of the fine. In some towns a messenger is attached to the school, and at the end of the first hour the master marks off the absent names, and despatches the messenger round to the houses, to inquire the cause of absence, which is duly entered in the book. In Berlin the control of attendance is undertaken by the school delegacy (see p. 191), which employs as its organ for this purpose bodies called by the name *Schulcommission*. Former arrangements for securing attendance having been found insufficient, this new system was organized in 1845. Berlin was divided for this purpose into 35 districts, or rather the division already existing for the purpose of the poor's commission was adopted. In each of

these districts a *Schulcommission* was appointed. This body consists of a chairman, vice-chairman, and a number of members, varying with the populations of their district from 6 to 10. The members are elected for three years by the common council, and confirmed by the *Magistrat*. It is usual to ask the lay members of the school boards to serve as members of the school commission of the district in which their school is situated. As the office is an unpaid one, and the duty thankless, the city has great difficulty in getting any one to serve. The commission meets once a month on a fixed day, three members forming a quorum. Its proceedings are minuted, and the minutes may be called for by the school delegacy. It has but one business, that of controlling the school lists and school attendance. For this purpose it employs as its organ the royal police, in the same way as the school-board in a country town employs the town police. The police commissary of the district (*Bezirk*) sends in to the commission the list of the *schulpflichtig* children. The members of the commission are expected individually to visit the parents, to urge upon them the moral obligation of seeing that their children attend regularly. Only when this private influence is ineffectual, an official admonition is given to the parent or guardian. If within a month from this monition a second "inexcused" absence occurs, a written notice issues from the commission, reminding the defaulting party that he makes himself liable to a penalty. This notice is registered. If a third "inexcused" absence occurs within a month, the commission sends notice to the school delegacy, adding from the record a copy of the previous notice. This notice is handed to another committee of the school delegacy, which is charged with the enforcement of the fines. This committee inquires into the case, assesses the fine, and orders payment within eight days. It is open to the condemned party to appeal during these eight days to the *Magistrat* The sentence of the *Magistrat* is final. The fine may be levied by execution. If there are no effects, the offender is punished by imprisonment. These measures were at first attended by a steady diminution of the irregularities they were intended to subdue. To compare, *e.g.*, the year 1850 with 1847 (omitting the exceptional years, 1848–49)—

	1850.	1847.
No. of fines	- 302	- 540
Amount of fines	- 100 thlr. 5 gr.	- 245 thlr. 2 gr.
Amount paid	- 57 thlr. 20 gr.	- 71 thlr. 10 gr.

Since 1850 a turn has taken place in an opposite direction. Factory labour and pauperism are both gaining ground, and irregularity in the attendance at the common schools is on the increase. In 1856 the number of children employed in factories, and therefore withdrawn altogether from the common schools, showed, as compared with 1855, an increase of 411. The number of convictions for inexcused absence had grown out of all proportion with the increase of population, viz., from 950 in 1855 to 1,780 in 1856. In the absence of more specific returns, it would not be safe to speculate on the causes of this falling off in the attendance. It may be said, in general, that there is more of that pauperism and demoralization generally supposed to be inevitable in great cities,

in Berlin, than in any other town I visited in Germany, and that most of those with whom I spoke on the subject agreed that it was not the claims of labour, but the sunken condition of the parents which interferred with the school attendance.

If we look to the manufacturing district of Saxony, we find the conflicting claims of industry and compulsory education arranged with much less trouble. In Saxony, the period of school attendance is eight years. Every day that the child misses without valid excuse, is marked against it in a book. These missed days are not counted to the eight calendar years which must be made good. The child cannot be confirmed and dismissed from school till it has done so. This regulation is found to work better than the system of fines, as the parents are sufficiently desirous of appropriating the child's labour at the earliest possible period, while there is always a reluctance to enforce the fine against poor and deserving parents. The local inspector, as pastor, keeps a register of baptisms, in which the ages of all the children are entered. The police have to keep him informed of all the new families who settle in the place. This organization is so perfect that even in the most populous places it is scarcely possible that any should be overlooked. In Chemnitz, *e.g.*, the centre of the cotton manufacture, the inspector assured me that he could take upon himself to say that there were no children within the school age who were not attending school in some form or other. Various methods of compromise between the school and labour are adopted. 1. In Saxony the half-day school (*Abtheilungs schule*) is universal, one master instructing two sets of children; one in the morning; the other in the afternoon. Even so, the teaching power is often inadequate, and the class is then divided into three; the master giving seven hours teaching, and each child getting at least two hours schooling, the elder children three, in the day. Such days of two hours school count as whole days towards the eight years. In some towns, as in Dresden, the elementary schools are classified into district schools (*Bezirksschule*) and poor's schools (*Armenschule*). The chief difference between them is, that in the latter are placed the children of those parents who are discharged from the payment of any school fee, and in these the school day is only a three hours' day. 2. The half-time school meets the occasions of ordinary town and rural population. In manufacturing centres, the law of compulsory education makes still larger concessions to the demands of industry, without, however, letting the children out of its grasp altogether. In Chemnitz child labour is employed in two kinds of manufacture. 1. In the cotton mills; in these the schooling is accomplished by a factory school, maintained at the cost of the employer. The children, who have mostly been on foot since three a.m.,—work begins at six,—go into school from 10 to 12. They have then one hour for dinner, and go to work again from 1 to 6 p.m., but are often kept later, there being in Saxony no legislative limitation of the hours of labour. This arrangement of the school hours is an improvement which has been obtained by the personal exertions of the local inspector, working upon the humanity of the millowners. Before, the children worked from six to six, and had to take their schooling in their dinner hour. All that the teacher could do, under the circumstances, was to read out something to them while they

rested and ate their bread; often all they had to eat. 2. In the print-works, where work can only be done by daylight and consequently the employers insist on having the whole day, the children must go to school in the evening, in the regular school, and to the regular school teacher. Both teacher and class are too fagged by the day's labour for a successful lesson. It is made as easy to them as it can be; and the poor girls, though often dropping asleep on the benches, come gladly to school, where they meet with an attention and sympathy strange to them elsewhere. Compassion on the one side and gratitude on the other combat the fatigue, and the progress is not contemptible. On the whole, however, these arrangements are only such as have been called out in the infancy of manufactures, and can therefore only be provisional. Should the employment of machinery continue to develope in Saxony at the rate it has done during the past 10 years, legislative protection will, in all probability, be given to the children. The Chemnitz night and factory schools are only so far interesting, as they show an established system of compulsory education in its first stage of collision with a rapidly growing manufacturing industry. Those who have been accustomed to think of the German compulsory education as an absolute and unyielding law may be surprised to find that it is capable on occasions of making the fullest concessions to the employers of labour.

Prussia, followed by Bavaria, Baden, and other states, has minute regulations for the protection of children employed in factories. The minimum age is now in Prussia 12; it was 9 (as still in Bavaria, &c.), and has been recently raised. No young person under 16 can be employed in a factory without a certificate of having regularly attended school for at least three years, or a certificate stating that the bearer can read and write. This regulation does not apply where the millowner supports a school at his own expense, which the children in his employ attend at such hours as the school councillor shall sanction. The maximum number of hours for children under 14 is now reduced from 10 hours to 6, and their employment between the hours of 8 p.m. and 5.30 a.m. prohibited. They must attend school for at least three hours daily. Every child has its labour book. These books are supplied gratis in blank to the parents or guardians of the children. The provisions of the factory laws are printed in the beginning, and they contain:—1. Name, age, and religion of the child; 2. Name, calling, and residence of the parent or guardian; 3. Copy of the certificate of school attendance (if any); 4. A column for date of entering present employment; 5. Ditto, for date of quitting the mill; 6. Ditto, for school attendance; 7. Ditto, for inspectors' *visas*. The millowner has to take charge of these books for each child in his employ, to produce them to the inspectors or the commissary of police whenever called for, and to return them to the children on quitting his employment. Special inspectors of factories are appointed only here and there, though they can be sent to any factory. Whether or not any factory be under the supervision of a special inspector, the ordinary inspectors, local and departmental, are required to visit its school (if any), as they do the ordinary schools. A manufacturer may be fined for employing persons under 16, without conforming to the prescriptions of this

law. A repetition of the offence three times in five years renders him liable to have the permission to employ infant labour withdrawn. He must send in the names of all children in his employ twice a year to the public office.

In Brunswick, where æt. 9 is still the minimum age at which children may be employed, they may not be worked from æt. 9 to 14 in school hours, *i.e.*, 8–11 a.m. and 2–4 p.m., and night labour of children in the sugar factories is also prohibited. Any infraction of these rules makes the employer liable to be excluded altogether from the use of child labour.

Passing from the regulations themselves, which exist for the purpose of compelling attendance at school, to the mode in which they are carried out and the results attained, I must be content with the following very general observations.

i. Though I found the law everywhere alike requiring attendance, I found it very unequally enforced in different countries and in different parts of the same country. It is well and uniformly carried into effect in Prussia, for it is a general feature of the administration of that country that nothing is law which is not actually in force. Some of the more stringent provisions of the factory law are said to have been evaded at one time, but this was soon corrected, and it is now enforced to the letter. The following are the returns of children in the elementary schools for the whole of Prussia for the year 1856, the latest published:—

PROVINCE.	No. of Children of School age.	No. of Children in the public elementary Schools.	No. of Schools.
Prussia	440,897	370,942	4,487
Posen	241,017	213,487	2,095
Pomerania	222,169	209,231	2,506
Silesia	525,993	503,468	3,722
Brandenburg	375,331	355,313	2,936
Saxony	340,907	337,416	2,779
Westphalia	255,808	249,771	1,836
The Rhine	529,843	507,605	3,820
Hohenzollern	11,286	11,239	111
	2,943,251	2,758,472	24,292

If we add the number of children attending licensed private elementary schools, 70,220, we obtain as the total number of children in the elementary schools 2,828,692.

Total number of children of school age	2,943,251
Total number attending elementary schools, public and private	2,828,692
	114,559

From this remainder of 114,559 we must deduct all the children receiving private instruction at home, all the boys in the junior classes of the grammar and real schools, children sickly, deficient, or in other ways incapacitated from attending school, and the residuum would be the number of those who by migratory habits,

or in whatever other way, escape even having their names on any school register. The number or the nature of this residuum I had no means of determining. A part of them would, perhaps, be found among the Lithuanian populations towards the north-east, who are continually crossing and recrossing the frontier, or sending their children, before they had arrived at the age of 14, into Poland, to be surreptitiously confirmed, and to return with a confirmation ticket which enabled them to be taken into service at once. There are also a number of itinerating families, whose children would be included in the census, but whom it would be impossible to confine to any school. The children of the true gipsies, on the other hand, are often regular attendants, and distinguish themselves by their industry, quickness, and good manners.

The above table only represents the number of children entered on the school books, and conveys no idea of the regularity with which they attend. It was, of course, out of my power to collect statistical information on this head. All who have to do with the elementary schools, however, agree that here is their great difficulty. Where there is neither resistance to the law nor desire to evade it, there is a want of resolution to make the attendance uniform and punctual. Districts vary very greatly in this respect. I have seen schools in which the absence book disclosed a most lax state of attendance, where the absences had increased to such a head that the master had ceased to register them. Causes of non-attendance which I have found operating are:—1. Poverty of the parents, who could not clothe their children decently, or in winter not sufficiently to protect them against frost-bite. In many towns charitable societies exist for the purpose of supplying clothes to poor school children, which greatly promotes school attendance, but there are many places where they do not exist, though much needed. 2. Unsatisfactory state of the school, whether arising from the defects of the master, or, more often, from a cause beyond his control, viz., the overfilling of the schoolroom. There is generally a legal limitation on the number of children a class may contain, *i.e.*, one teacher instruct. The new Würtemberg law, 6th November 1858, one object of which was to economise teacher power, allows 90; Baden, 70; Saxony, 60; and this is the lowest number fixed by any law. But I have constantly seen the legal number exceeded. In Westphalia, *e.g.*, 150 children may frequently be seen in a class. It was stated in the Prussian Chamber of Deputies in March 1859, that "in the school at Dirschau (department Danzig), there were as many as 180 children in a class; that they had to come from great distances by swampy paths, and then, after having walked several miles, had to stand for three or four hours, there not being sitting room for the number. It was as much as the master could do to maintain order, instruction was out of the question." Where the population is on the increase, and school accommodation has a difficulty in keeping pace with it, this overcrowding can be avoided by connivance at neglect of attendance. In Würtemberg, where population is on the decline, the number of teachers would be still inadequate, were it not for the system of dividing the day, by which one master may teach 120 children, but in

three successive classes of 40 each. In other countries, with a rapidly advancing population, we shall not be surprised if inadequate school accommodation is tacitly allowed to correct itself by irregular attendance. It by no means proves, where it exists, that the parents are indifferent to education, but shows rather that they are aware that the benefit which is desirable cannot be got in an over-filled school. 3. In some cases of irregular attendance, where there is no fault to find with the discipline within the school walls, the fault is traceable to an original neglect on the part of the authorities whose business it is to control the attendance. The master has seldom a direct pecuniary interest in the school fees, yet it is rare to find a master who does not prefer a full school to an empty one. But the local inspector, perhaps, is supine, or is alienated from the school, and looks on the desultory attendance with secret satisfaction. Or he is anxious about his school, but the parish had got into a relaxed state as to school attendance before his coming to it, and he shrinks from plunging into hot water with his parishioners, by setting the school board to work, to remedy *vi et armis*, a state of things which was the fault of his predecessor. Or he does urge the lay members of the board to take the matter up, but they have not been accustomed to think much of school attendance; they think the new pastor a little too zealous, and point out the hardship of fining a man who is only earning a shilling a day. In places where the police has had a political and inquisitorial character given to it, the inspector and the school board may be reluctant to apply for its aid. The school attendance in Electoral Hesse is said to be extremely irregular, though in 1853 the fine for absence was raised from 1 to 15 groschen. In a well-managed school district, where the school accommodation is sufficient, and the inspector attentive, there is never occasion to have recourse to the penalties of the law, except with the few families who may have sunk below the moral level of the neighbourhood. There are many schools and whole districts in which the column of "inexcused" absences in the absence book will be kept nearly clean all the year through. In a good school the children at least will not be willing defaulters. They are eager to come; reluctant to leave; the three or four hours they spend in school are to them the most thoroughly enjoyable part of their day. In the whole kingdom of Würtemberg inexcused absences are extremely rare, and the fine hardly heard of. At the worst a monition before the *Kirchenconvent* suffices.

ii. When the excellence of the school and regularity of attendance are provided for by the authorities, they form of themselves no test of the feeling of the people about the school. What this feeling is is not easy for a foreign inquirer to ascertain, as he chiefly comes into contact with the school authorities, who view the question from the official side; but there are some obvious facts which meet the eye. Though I have spoken of irregular attendance, and of enforcement of attendance by penalties, it must be borne in mind that these are individual cases. I have found no province or district in Germany in which public feeling manifested itself as rebelling against compulsory attendance in itself. In 1848–49 such a feeling could not have failed to have found expression had it existed. We must distinguish between the opinions of the

upper and middle classes on a point in which they are only indirectly interested, and the feeling of the great mass of the population on which the law of compulsory education directly presses. The former discuss the question both in speaking and writing, and decide it one way or the other according to their own abstract views. Such speculative conclusions are as nothing by the side of the pure fact that the class whose children attend these elementary schools are well satisfied that they should do so. The schooling is compulsory only in name; the school has taken so deep a root in the social habit of the German people that were the law repealed to-morrow no one doubts that the schools would continue as full as they now are. In the free city of Frankfort there is no compulsory law, and I was assured by persons most likely to be informed that all the children of school age are as regularly sent to school there as in any other town in Germany; and Frankfort, it should be remembered, is a place of refuge for many loose and unsettled families escaping from the more severe police of the bordering countries, Nassau, Darmstadt, Baden, &c. In Würtemberg a law was last year enacted, abridging the time of schooling, for the sake of easing the pressure on the existing school accommodation; but it has not yet (May 1859) appeared that the people are disposed to avail themselves of the remission of time. It is sometimes said that this submission to the school enactment is only due to the characteristic tameness of the German people, who suffer themselves to be driven whithersoever their governments choose. Without here discussing the correctness of this assigned character in general it has appeared to me that the general attendance at school is not obedience to a superior, but the deliberate and adopted habit of the people; they not only acquiesce in it, but value it. It is true that the same appreciation of education is not found uniformly diffused over every part of the surface of the country alike. There are agricultural districts where the farmers dislike the schools, as raising the price of wages, and manufacturing districts, where the parents dislike them as lowering wages. Stories may be heard as of a father (in Frankfort) who removed his child from school in the middle of its time, and put it to work, saying, "it had *served the state* four years, and it was high time it should now serve him." Again, we should expect to find a town population appreciating the school better than the rural; and this is generally the case. Except a few large capitals, the towns and cities, though containing great numbers of industrious poor, do not exhibit compact masses of degraded pauperism. Between one rural population and another great differences may be observed in the degree of favour with which the school is regarded. Of causes which operate in producing this difference, one of the most influential appears to be the distribution of landed property. In countries where large landed estates (*Rittergüter*) are the rule, *e.g.*, Pomerania or Mecklenburgh-Schwerin, the sympathy of the population with the school is probably at a minimum. On the other hand, in districts like the Eichsfeld (Prussian Saxony), where land is parcelled in minute fragments insufficient for the maintenance of a family, we find compulsory school attendance quite unable to raise the population to the level at which it ceases to be felt as a hardship. In respect of religious confession, the most favourable situation I have noticed is that met

with, among other places, in parts of Lusatia and Silesia, where a considerable Protestant minority is dispersed among a Catholic population. In such districts the contrast of the two religions is strongly felt socially; a feeling sharpened, no doubt, by the Catholics having been maintained all along in exclusive possession of the church and school endowments, while the Protestants have had to help themselves. Their self-respect is stimulated; they are, as it were, upon honour to behave well, and cherish their education as one of the elements of that moral superiority over their Catholic neighbours of which they are fully conscious. But this indolent and dissolute Catholic population have their elementary schools, equally with the Protestants, with trained masters, the same organization, the same compulsory attendance. Finally, there are differences in populations in respect of capacity of education; differences which, rightly or wrongly referred to race, are certainly real. Even the elementary school is still an exotic among a population like that of the Mark, whose intractable speech organ opposes an obstacle to it upon the threshold. Their next neighbour, on the contrary, the Missnian Saxon, whose dialect has become the standard speech of Germany, has appropriated more language before he commences school than the other has learnt when he has been two years there. There, is, perhaps no apter subject of culture among the German peoples than the Saxon. His speech organs are flexible, his tones varied, and his ear delicate; he learns with rapidity and pleasure. He takes readily that education which developes the faculties, but his pliability renders him less fit for that which consists in the inculcation of a fixed system of ideas. In a Saxon school more is learned, and the taste far more cultivated, than in a Prussian school, but a feebler moral training is certainly given. The gentler nature and more lively fancy of the Saxon could not bear the severe discipline under which the Prussian thrives and waxes. If we made regularity of attendance our test of the success of a school system we should be obliged to place Saxony low; but I believe in no part of Germany is the school more valued by the class who use it. In Dresden the anxiety of the parents is not to evade the obligation of sending their children to school, but to get them in at the earliest admissible age; and so far from regarding the half-day school as a boon, they are disposed to complain that they are robbed of half their schooling by it.

iii. If we nowhere find resistance and dissatisfaction, and in many places a lively sense of the value of the schools, it must also be stated that the attitude of large parts of the population towards the school is one of apathy and indifference. A stranger will often be astonished, in conversation with persons of the middle class who have themselves been brought up in one of the higher schools, to find how unacquainted they are with the details of the elementary school administration which has been going on around them all their lives. He may perhaps ascribe this in some measure to the general habit of mind of the German professional man, who purposely limits his knowledge to his own pursuit, and who would consider himself equally blameable to be ignorant of anything within, or to profess a knowledge of anything without, that circle. But the same ignorance and indifference may be found in the very classes whose children are attending some grade or other of elementary

school. The schoolmasters complain bitterly of this apathy and want of encouragement on the part of the parents. In towns or districts where this is the prevailing temper it operates to make the school less efficient. This unconcern about an object in which they have so direct an interest is undoubtedly to be ascribed to the fact that the whole school management is conducted by official persons, responsible only to superiors, and, as government employés, withdrawn from the influence of the public opinion of the locality. Thus the weakness of the system lies in its very essence. The more perfect government makes its machinery, the more rigidly it administers, the more pervading it succeeds in making the system, the more it destroys that vital sap which the school ought to draw from the community. This is beginning to be acknowledged now by the more enlightened schoolmen themselves. In Würtemberg there is even a party who contend for the abrogation of compulsory school attendance, at the head of which is a person of eminence, Von Steinbein, the head of the Stuttgard School of Industry. This party do not take their stand on any abstract principle of protection to liberty of the individual, but on the observed effect in practice of government administration. They maintain that if compulsory attendance ceased to be law the schools would be as well attended as they are now. Even among those who do not go the length of desiring the abrogation of compulsory attendance, the opinion is gaining ground, that the exclusive administration by the church official bodies has proved a failure. In Würtemberg they have got money, buildings, masters, inspection, all excellent; and it is now found that something is still wanting. This first-rate machinery does not tell, as it is thought it ought to do, on the mind and heart of the people. This is the fact. On the cause and the remedy there is diversity of opinion. It is the belief of many of the most experienced practical schoolmen in Würtemberg, that it is to be ascribed to the exclusive management of the schools by a department, and that it will be remedied by getting the population who use the schools to take a personal interest in them. It is not so much, they say, a general belief in the utility of elementary education which is wanting, as an interest on the part of the inhabitants of each locality in their own school. The school is too merely a teaching machine; too little in contact with the real feeling of the country. They wish the *commune* to participate more in the management of its own school. How this may best be effected is matter of special detail. As a specimen of what is thought desirable, I may mention some suggestions of Dr. Eisenlohr, rector of the seminary at Nürtingen, who was kind enough to explain his views on the subject to me.

The *commune* might have a voice in the appointment of its master. This would only be restoring to it an old privilege, and one which it lost quite recently by gradual usurpation on the part of the Crown, which finally took formal possession of the patronage by the law of 1836. Not that the consistory does not on the whole exercise a better judgment in the choice of masters than the *commune* perhaps would, where it elects, but in promotions the consistory never deviates from the order of seniority, and seniority is reckoned according to age, not years of service; and so long as the *commune* have only the obligation of paying, without

the privilege of appointing the master, they will not cease to regard the maintenance of the school as a state burden. That this opinion is gaining ground is shown by the deference now paid by the consistory in its appointments to the wishes of the *commune*; and whenever the *commune* founds a new school (of industry, &c.) they stipulate for at least a voice in the nomination of master. Ordinary members of the *commune* should be induced to take a part in the management of their school. He would not constitute school delegacies, as in Prussia, but have householders elected on to the *Kirchenconvent* for school affairs. The master should participate in the government of the school. As it is, he may be present at the meetings of the board, and if asked give his opinion, but has neither voice nor vote. He should have a seat and voice at the board. In no other profession or branch of the public service is the oversight and control exercised by non-professional overseers. The 4,000 schoolmasters constitute no compact body of men; have no union or self-government in their professional affairs. The town schools, instead of being a mere agglomeration of classes, each under an independent master, should have a rector at its head, as in North Germany, who should be responsible for the whole school, and have a seat at the school board. The board might make periodical reports to the municipal authorities, and there might perhaps be public examinations, to which the parents and the public generally might be invited, as in North Germany. Opinion in Würtemberg has taken a turn, and may be expected to advance in favour of self-managed schools.

If we find no traces of this opinion in Prussia, it must be remembered that the school system in that country has not reached the stage at which it has arrived in Würtemberg. The supply of school accommodation, the material of schoolrooms and school teachers, is not yet brought up to the level of the rapidly increasing population, and government is exerting itself to do this with an energy and uniformity which local authorities could not obtain. This is the very work which a central power can do far better than a local. The spirit in which this is now being done by the government has the effect of exciting the *communes* to rivalry. A report from the government of Liegnitz (Silesia) says:—"The disposition of the *communes* to take part in the affairs of their own schools is decidedly on the increase. Of this disposition there has been ample proof in the course of the past year (1857), in the school buildings which have been erected or enlarged at the cost of the municipality, without any coercion on the part of the government; in the revision of school arrangements, the appointment of additional teachers, and the increase of the stipends of those already employed. Many towns in the department have made very considerable sacrifices to promote the efficiency of the Protestant schools. The personal interest taken in the annual school examinations, not only by the local and school authorities, but also by the patrons and independent members of the *commune*, is visibly on the increase, showing itself in donations to the school funds, in founding prizes, or giving a school feast to the children. Above all does this awakened sympathy for the school manifest itself by the more uniform carrying out of the

measures taken for securing greater regularity of attendance. Where admonition, or where the severer measures of fine and imprisonment, did not avail, the sentence to parish labour, as allowed by the ordinance of 18 May 1801, has been employed with salutary effects. The most effectual means of making the children attend regularly is, however, the mode in which the master treats them. If he understands the art of making the children feel it pleasant to be at school, their desire to come there become sa motive too powerful for the parents to be able to resist."

The school delegacies, which now exist in most towns of Prussia, are in this respect most valuable institutions. If they could achieve the same independence which that of Berlin struggles to maintain, they would contribute more than anything else to connect the school and its interests with those of the locality. The jealousy with which these bodies are now watched by the departmental governments would have this good effect, that they would be on the alert not to let their schools be behind those exclusively managed by the department. Even in Prussia experience now universally condemns free schools, and a small school fee is exacted wherever possible, on the ground that it gives the parents more interest in the school.

iv. Compulsory attendance must be discriminated from the government organization of inspection, superintendence, management, and legislation. It is this bureaucratic organization of the school system by which the school is almost wholly removed from the sympathies of the population whose children must attend it. The compulsory attendance by itself is now so entirely adopted into their habits that it has quite lost its involuntary character. It is as much a matter of course that the children of the peasant, the farmer, the artisan, and the labourer should take their daily road to school, as that those of the tradesman, the merchant, the banker, or the judge should. This is a consequence of the universal prevalence of day schools. In attending the day school the child is but doing what all the children in the place, rich as well as poor, are doing. Boarding schools have been hitherto little known; they are said to be now on the increase, as well as home education by private tutors. If this be the case, it will undoubtedly embarrass the enforcement of school attendance, by destroying its universality, and giving it the appearance of a burden laid by the rich upon the poor; not to speak of other ill effects, the fostering a spirit of class exclusiveness, and endangering the preservation of that air of courtesy and good breeding now so generally diffused through the poorer classes. This habit of universal attendance at the day school is one of the most precious traditions of German family life. There is, I believe, a general impression in this country, that compulsory attendance is a creation of the modern despotic system, dictated by philosophical sovereigns, on the ground of some abstract theory of the right of the state over the child. M. Cousin has given currency to this notion by his comparison of the *Schulpflichtigkeit* of the child with the *Dienstpflichtigkeit* of the youth. But the existing Prussian military system dates only from 1814, and, whatever its merits may be, is entirely a creation of central authority. The compulsory school attendance dates from the earliest period of the Reformation,

and was a recognized religious duty long before it became a law of the state. From the time of Luther's address to the municipal corporations of Germany, 1524, this has been so recognized, whether it was enforced by enactment or not. It was the distinction of the Protestant child that it should be taught to understand and practise the doctrines and duties of its religion; it was the business of the church to see that all its youth did so. If the consistorial edicts which were issued to this effect (*e.g.*, that for the Mark of Brandenburg, 1573,) were issued in the name of the prince, they were not the less church ordinances. When, in the beginning of the 18th century, Friedrich Wilhelm began to issue royal ordinances for the regulation and improvement of elementary schools, we find these ordinances assuming, not enacting de novo, universal school attendance of all unconfirmed persons. The usage as part of the duty of a Christian parent had even survived the ruin of the thirty years' war. In Würtemberg it has existed by legal enactment ever since the year following the peace of Westphalia (1649). The edict of 1716, which is popularly regarded as the source of the Prussian compulsory system, does really nothing more than give the sanction of a royal ordinance to an existing practice. (This edict is printed in full in *Beckedorf, Jahrbücher*, ii. 39, &c.) The *Allgemeines landschulreglement* of 1763 for the first time exactly defines the age, viz., from 5 to 14; but this was only defining an obligation universally admitted as one of the first duties of the citizen and the member of the church. If there was any novelty in the ordinances of the 18th century, it was in adding writing and arithmetic to the religious instruction given in the village schools. Compulsory education in Protestant Germany never had to contend with an adverse public opinion; not because the spirit of personal liberty is wanting, but because, since Protestantism began, there has never been a time when it was not thought part of parental duty to have the children properly instructed.

v. Lastly, it must not be forgotten that one reason why universal school attendance can be accomplished with such ease in Germany is, that the so-called "religious difficulty" exists there only in a modified degree. This difficulty is aggravated in proportion to the number of distinct sects who live intermixed in the same district. In Germany the Protestants still form for school purposes but one denomination, though symptoms of a revival of the sectarian animosity between Calvinists and Lutherans are beginning to show themselves here and there. Thus there are mostly but three confessions to provide for; Catholics, Protestants, and Jews. So that, whichever system, that of mixed or that of denominational schools, were adopted, the arrangements required would be quite simple. According to the system in force, viz., the denominational, no difficulty arises in populous districts, where each confession is numerous enough to maintain its separate school. Compulsory attendance is only a religious grievance where a minority of one confession is dispersed so thinly amid a majority of the other as to be unable to have its own school. The details of the manner in which this difficulty is encountered in the various German states I shall have to describe in the Second Part of this Memoir.

8. *Of Voluntary Effort.*

The whole of the elementary school system in Germany is, as we have seen, organized and conducted by the central authority in the several states. On the skirts of this immense organization room is left for voluntary effort in various directions, which I can but briefly indicate.

1. Private schools.—It is open to any one (in Prussia) to found a private school who can obtain a licence (*concession*) for the purpose from the government. But he can only employ in it teachers who have passed the two regular examinations (see p. 244) required of teachers in a public school of the same class *i.e.*, whether higher, middle, or elementary. If in a city, he must further prove that the district in which he proposes to open a school is insufficiently provided with schools. When he has obtained his licence, his school is not his own domain, within which he may try experiments in education. He is not only subject at all times to the inspection of the *Schulrath*, but he is strictly bound to follow the rules and regulations issued by the school delegacy, *resp.* by the school council, for the behoof of private schools. The proprietor of such a private school is at liberty to fix his school fee at any amount he may think fit. He is required to draw up a table of fees and charges, specifying the amount charged in each class, entrance money, extras, &c. He must give in a printed copy of this tariff to the school board, and also to the parent or guardian of each child who may be placed at the school. He is at liberty to make a separate agreement with any parent or guardian to take less than the tariff price, but on the express condition that such reduced charge shall not curtail the quantity or quality of the instruction to be given to the child. These private schools play an important part in Berlin; nearly half the children in elementary schools being educated in them. As the corporation have not as yet accommodation in the public schools for more than 12,000 or 13,000, they therefore pay the proprietors of the private schools so much per head for every child in their schools. In the whole kingdom there are 3,600 teachers, male and female, in these private schools, by the side of the 33,000 masters and mistresses in the public elementary schools. In these private schools may perhaps be reckoned the so-called parochial schools. This term is used to denote chiefly such schools as are in connexion with certain Protestant congregations which have been long in existence, and which, though not connected with the established church, are not dissenting bodies, *e.g.*, the Bohemian, Moravian, and French Calvinist congregations. There are also a few other schools of old foundation, attached to parish churches in some cities, which, having small fixed sources of income, have been left in their original position, *e.g.*, the schools attached to the Cloister Church, to Trinity Church, and to the Cathedral in Berlin. But in respect of inspection, the certificates of teachers, and the matters to be taught, these schools are under the same regulations as the public elementary schools.

2. More independent of the control of the regular school organization are the schools for "further improvement" which exist in most large towns. Two classes of institutions offer the means

of improvement to young men apprenticed to trades, &c., who have left the elementary school, and been confirmed. Such young persons are either, 1. Those who have learnt imperfectly what has been taught at school, or, 2. Those who, having profited by their schooling, wish to carry their education beyond the point where the elementary school left them.

For the 1st are designed the Sunday schools. These schools are held in the schoolrooms of various city schools. Instruction is given from 2–5 p.m. in reading, writing, and arithmetic only. It is of the same grade as that given in the upper classes of an elementary school. In Berlin, every apprentice, at the time of his being apprenticed, is examined by the guild of the trade to which he is destined. If he can read, write, and cipher competently, he receives a certificate to that effect. If not, he must attend the Sunday afternoon school till he is able to do so.

For the 2d are designed the *improvement institutes* (*Fortbildungsanstalten*). In Würtemberg formerly attendance for two years at these schools was compulsory; but that requirement exists no longer. In Prussia it has always been voluntary. These schools are held either on Sundays or evenings in the week, and taught by masters in elementary or real schools, who receive a small fee from the pupils, which is augmented by a grant from the municipality. No applicant is admitted before confirmation (æt. 14), or a certificate that he is competently taught, so far as the elementary school can carry him. If an apprentice, he must also produce the permission, in writing, of his master, and the master, in that case, becomes responsible for the regularity of the pupil's attendance. There is no limit as to age; and where the instruction is given by competent masters, it is not uncommon to see men of 30, or even more, present in the classes, and taking their turn with the younger pupils. Sometimes a teacher in an elementary school will take the opportunity thus afforded him of learning French, English, drawing, &c. The subjects in which instruction is given in the three *Fortbildungsanstalten* in Berlin are, writing, arithmetic, commercial practice, book-keeping, letter-writing, mechanics, chemistry, German reading and literature, French, English, drawing, and designing, &c. These subjects are arranged in five or six courses. Each pupil is at liberty to choose which courses he will attend; but no pupil is allowed to enter a higher class till he has gone through the elementary class in the same subject, and has shown that he possesses the competent knowledge. For the first four semesters, he is obliged to attend not less than four different courses. After that he may attend only so many as he pleases. When the institute is held on the Sunday, the pupils assemble for public worship in the building, and have a short service, which occupies half an hour. For the present organization of these schools in Berlin the city is indebted to the energy of the present *Schulrath* Schulze. They are as yet in their infancy there, and have many difficulties to contend with; chiefly this, that they deprive both pupil and teacher of their only holiday in the week. The following figures are taken from the last report of the improvement institutes in Berlin for the period from Easter 1858 to Easter 1859.

In the summer half year the attendance of students at the 3 institutes was 1,149; in the winter half year 1,249. Of these, 6

were masters, 1,155 journeymen, 722 apprentices, 198 mechanics, 132 merchants and tradesmen's clerks, 32 schoolmasters and government employés; 377 were between 14–16 years of age, 623 between 17–20, 152 between 21–24, 71 between 25–30, 22 between 31–40, and 4 above 40. The total cost to the city, besides the use of rooms, was 4,000 thalers.

The most vigorous of these institutions which I visited was that held in the masonic lodge at Leipsic, but I am told that those in Würtemberg are the best organized. At the same time it is generally considered that they have nowhere reached the development of which they are capable, and attention is just beginning to be attracted to them, as an instrument of popular education whose power is comparatively untried. Of the difficulties which stand in the way of this development, I can only here allude to one. Under present circumstances, there is no power in German society adequate to organizing and working anything like an efficient people's college, except the central government. But if this be undertaken by the government, it must be incorporated into the existing machine, and placed under the same official superintendence as the elementary schools. However well this may answer for elementary teaching, where the object is to secure that a minimum of attainment be universally reached, it will not be equally successful in promoting individual improvement, which must from its nature be a voluntary effort. A *Fortbildungsanstalt* under government officers would be certain to be no more than an advanced elementary school, in which greater proficiency in the technical parts of instruction, drawing, book-keeping, forms of business, &c., might be acquired, but from which anything like general cultivation would be excluded. It is better, therefore, to let the present feeble beginnings of these institutions develope according to the instinct of the class who use them, than to put them at once on a complete footing according to the prevailing ideas of what education for the people ought to be.

3. Infant schools, more properly called *Kleinkinderbewahranstalten* (for it is a principle that no lessons should be given in them, æt. 6 or 7 being thought quite early enough to commence instruction), are now rapidly multiplying in all large towns, supported by private benevolence. Instead of competing with the public schools, charitable effort is here usefully employed in supplementing them. The elder children being engaged great part of the day in the school, and both parents in field labour, often at great distances, houses are opened for the reception of the infants under school age. The parents can deposit them in the morning, and call for them again as they return from work. The infants are fed, cared for, and kept amused by singing, dancing, and organized games under the care of a matron, or of benevolent ladies who from love for children are found willing to devote their time to this service. Fröbel's play-gardens, on a more methodical plan, are for a class above the very poor (*Kindergarten*). Of these there are only about 50 or 60 in Germany. They were prohibited by the late Government of Prussia on grounds of political suspicion.

4. Farm and reformatory schools, redemption institutes for morally endangered or criminal children, only occur for mention here as being entirely promoted by private benevolence.

PART II.

Of the Matters taught in the Elementary Schools.

1. *Of Religion.*

Of the matters taught in the elementary school, religion forms still, as it always has done, the first and staple. The maintenance of this place among the objects of instruction, in combination with a system of compulsory attendance, has carried the school in Protestant Germany through a highly instructive experience. This experience, indeed, is still only progressive; the definitive solution of all difficulties is not yet arrived at; but the steps by which the present point has been reached deserve attentive consideration. I can only very briefly indicate them. A full explanation would involve the whole religious history of the last century and a half.

The primary school in its origin was a catechismal instruction; a repetition, conducted by a candidate, the sacristan, or other subordinate church officer, of the more solemn Sunday catechization of the pastor. It was strictly a Protestant institution, born of the spirit of the 16th century. These two points of antithesis, in which the Reformed movement stood to the Catholic church, 1. That, not incorporation into the visible church, but the faith of the individual believer, was the appointed means of salvation; 2. That public worship was to be, not a transaction by the priest, but the joint act of the congregation, were the roots from which the *Volkschule* grew. But Luther and Melancthon knew of no schools but Latin schools. If "German schools" (*Deutsche schule*) are spoken of in the first age of the Reformation, they are so as a substitute for the Latin schools, either for girls or for boys, destined for trading pursuits, and as such viewed with disfavour by the Reformers. Whether the schools were Latin or German schools, they were frequented only by the children of the higher classes, or those destined for a profession or the public service. The people, "*das gesinde und junge Volk*," received no other instruction than that in the elements of their Christian faith. Gradually, other matters were added to the religious instruction, as knowledge slowly diffused itself through lower social strata, and the *Volkschule*, or people's school, came insensibly into existence. In the earlier stages of this progress there was no distinction drawn between secular and religious learning. If the child learnt to read, it was that it might read the Bible. When, in the beginning of the 17th century, the consistories, or the prince as head of the church (*Landesbischoff*), admonished parents and guardians to be diligent in seeing that their children attended this public instruction, it was as reviving and maintaining the old Lutheran church discipline that they did so. Even after the philosophical reaction against church tradition had spread widely through the upper ranks of society in Germany, we find the royal edicts for the regulation of the primary schools strictly adhering to the ancient

spirit and intention. The first general School Regulation for Prussia, the *Schulreglement* of 1763 (Friedrich II.), drawn up by Hecker, and issued by royal authority, with the approbation of the supreme consistory, keeps strictly to the traditional model of the people's school, avoids all abstract principles, and orders only that "the people shall be Christianly taught in reading, praying, chanting, writing and arithmetic, catechism and biblical history." It enacts in this respect nothing new, *i.e.*, in the matters to be taught, but simply sanctions and enforces the existing practice. The language of the edict is noticeable. The children are to be "Christianly brought up in reading, prayer, &c." (*erzogen in gebet, &c.*) The school is still, in the view of the consistory, a part of the children's bringing up; not merely a place for teaching elementary knowledge. It is not till 1794, during the reaction against the French Revolution, that we find the edicts impregnated with political theory, and the government anxiously taking possession of the schools as a political instrument. The Prussian code, which appeared in that year, first speaks of "the State," and announces that "the public schools and universities are institutions of the "state." (*Allgemeines Landrecht*, th. ii. tit. 12.) The school ordinance of the same year, drawn up by the Minister Wollner, emphatically prescribes in great detail religious instruction for "the lower "schools." We have no longer the old ecclesiastical tone of the Lutheran consistories, but an evident apprehension of the spread of illuminism as a cause of political disturbance, and an attempt to arrest it by increasing the quantity of religious lessons given in the school. Religion takes its place among the other parts of useful knowledge, as that which tends to make a good and obedient citizen. Though the school is slowly being drawn into the place which the code of 1794 assigns it among the other state institutions, it still remains subject to the inspection and management of the ecclesiastical authorities. The universities and the classical schools had gradually escaped from the control of the church; their teachers are declared to be state servants (*Beamte*), and obtain the privileges of such; but the masters of the lower schools are not admitted into that category. Thus, at the period of the French invasion, the elementary school occupied this ambiguous position: it had ceased to be the catechizing school attached to the parish church, yet it had not become wholly secular; it was declared a state institution, and yet continued under the superintendence of the clergy.

Meanwhile the Prussian monarchy was growing in extent, and aggregating large masses of Catholic subjects, in Silesia, Posen, Glatz, Westphalia, &c. The schools existing in these countries were Roman Catholic, *i.e.*, denominational. The law of obligatory school attendance was either already in force, or was without difficulty applied to them. The two religions, Protestant and Catholic, obtained at once that footing of parity on which they still stand in Prussia. Each had its own schools. The Jews were not yet considered "*schulpflichtig*." There were no other dissenting communities; for we cannot reckon the Moravians, &c. as such, who were settled by themselves in colonies where they had their own schools. Thus the school system of Prussia was in fact, and by the force of circumstances, denominational in its general character. Exceptions, however, arose to this simplicity in the working of the

compulsory system from a few localities, chiefly in Silesia, in which a Protestant population, technically called "*Diaspora*," was thinly scattered amidst the Catholic mass. This exceptional fact had an important influence on Prussian legislation. I have already spoken of the code of 1794 (*Allgemeines Landrecht*) as impregnated with the language of the philosophical toleration theory of the time. The paragraph in question, however, though couched apparently in these general terms, was drawn up by veteran Prussian officials, men of practical routine, and not of theory; and it cannot be doubted that it was suggested by and intended to meet the concrete case of these Protestant congregations in Silesia. The words of the code are as follows:—

Allgemeines Landrecht, th. ii. tit. 12. § 10. "Admittance into the public schools shall not be refused to any one on the ground of diversity of religious confession. § 11. Children whom the laws of the state allow to be brought up in any other religion than that which is being taught in the public school cannot be compelled to attend the religious instruction given in the same."

This last clause is ambiguous, even in the original; it can only be explained by a reference to the Silesian circumstances. The Protestant diaspora, in those localities, too little numerous to support an Evangelical school, were under the necessity of sending their children to the Roman Catholic schools. The Catholic managers of these schools either flatly refused them admittance, or granted it as a favour, under the condition of the children attending all the religious teaching of the school. In the Catholic schools doctrinal teaching, ceremonial observances, and attendance upon church services, form a considerable part of the whole instruction given. It was to protect the Protestant parents against this religious oppression that the seemingly abstract paragraph of the code was in the first instance directed. It is true that, whether dictated by abstract conceptions, or founded on an actual case, these paragraphs introduced the principle of simultaneous (mixed) schools into Prussian law, long before the Code Napoleon appeared on the left bank of the Rhine.

The Catholic school regulation for the province of Silesia of 18 May 1801 went further in the same direction. It orders that "in parishes of mixed population the schoolmaster shall instruct all children, without distinction of religion, in reading, writing, and all other branches which do not pertain to religion. The books used for reading out of shall be such as contain nothing of the distinctive doctrines of either confession. All the children must attend the common prayer or hymn usual before or after school, but neither must contain anything one-sided or belonging to religious party. The master gives religious instruction only to children of his own faith. The children of the other party remain away on the days or hours set apart for this purpose, and are to receive their religious teaching from the clergyman of their own persuasion." According to this edict, a number of the Silesian schools would be treated as mixed schools; and any school was liable to become a mixed school when children of the opposite faith were sent for admission. But in practice the intention of the law was wholly defeated. The Catholic clergy, who act with an independence of the civil power which the Evangelical church cannot

attain to, treated both the Regulation of 1801 and the paragraph above cited from the Code of 1794 as a dead letter. They no longer, indeed, opposed the attendance of Protestant children, but obliged them to participate in all the religious lessons and services with the Catholic children. At most they were excused attendance at mass on those days on which the school attended in a body. The Evangelical schools dealt more leniently with their Catholic scholars, excusing them from getting by rote the catechism and church hymns, but making them take their place in the Bible class. Those things were done in spite of repeated admonitions from the central authority, republishing and enforcing the principle of the *Allgemeines Landrecht.* Every now and then some maladroit attempt at proselytism attracted the attention of the public and the government, and a rebuke or the removal of the offender was the consequence; but the system went on. The silent influences, which could not be made matter of complaint or petition, were more deadly than overt attempts on the faith of the children. It is not the master, but the school, not the lessons, but the opinion of the majority of its schoolfellows, which exerts the insensible sway over the child's mind. The law, even had it been strictly enforced, was powerless to control these forces; but it lay in the nature of the case that it could not be enforced; the division of the school day which would have been required in order to keep religious instruction apart from the other lessons was not possible in the country where the children came from great distances. As early as 1822, therefore, we find that mixed schools were expressly recognized by government to have failed, and were only to be continued exceptionally in such localities as could not maintain a confessional school. This rescript is the more remarkable, as coming from Von Altenstein, a minister whose views on popular education are above suspicion of sectarian bias:—

"Experience has shown that in simultaneous schools the chief matter of education, viz., religion, is not sufficiently cared for, and it lies in the nature of the case that it cannot be. The intention of these schools, to wit, the promotion of tolerant feelings between the members of different communions, is seldom or never attained. Disagreements between teachers of the two confessions in the same school, or between the master and the parents of the opposite confession, have often involved the whole *commune* in religious dissension; to say nothing of the other evils inseparable from mixed schools. Such establishments can therefore no longer be regarded as the rule. Exceptions may still be allowed, either in cases of obvious necessity, or when such a coalition is the free choice of the two congregations, acting under the advice of their respective clergy, and with the approval of the temporal and spiritual authorities."—*Cabinet Rescript of* 27 *April* 1822.

This was nearly the state of the law and the practice down to the year 1848. It has been already mentioned (see p. 181), that the dependence of the elementary school on the church was one among the fundamental axioms of German administration much agitated at that time. Connected with it was the further question of the character of the religious instruction to be given in the school. In the National Assembly at Berlin only a small party was found to support a system of general religious instruction in Scripture

history and the doctrines common to all Christian sects. This view, though supported in the press by Director Diesterweg, met with little public favour. The method of secular schools with separate religious instruction, whether to be given in the school, or, as in Holland, out of it, by the respective ministers of religion, was the plan at first most generally supported both in and out of the National Assembly. Though the dissolution of the assembly, 5th December 1848, broke off the discussion of the subject prematurely, it had yet been carried far enough to bring about a general conviction that the practical difficulties in the way of organizing the Prussian schools on this system were all but insuperable. It was called to mind that the original foundation of so many of the schools by the church had connected school and church in many material ways. The funds out of which the master was paid were often church revenues; partly endowments; partly collections in the churches. Many schoolmasters are at the same time officers of the church, and make up a considerable part of their income by holding such offices. The school buildings and master's dwelling-house are often church property, or the church-chest is liable for their maintenance and repair. It was considered that the secular system, however it might be liked in the towns and by the middle class, would be very unacceptable to the country people; that, were an attempt made to carry it out, a powerful party would be formed against it, who would erect rival schools, which, supported by the religious consciousness of the people, would empty the state schools. The result of the attempt would thus be to call into being a network of exclusively church schools, and so to make education more sectarian than before. Accordingly the Constitution (*Verfassung*) of 31 Jan. 1851 contains the following article:—

Art. 24. "In the ordering of the public people's school regard shall be had as far as possible to denominational relations. The religious instruction in the people's school is under the conduct of the respective religious bodies."

This article probably represents pretty fairly the result of the previous discussion to which the subject, both in the assembly and by the public at large, had been submitted. As far as legislation is concerned, no further alteration has taken place since 1851. The special law on "education," promised in the Charter, has not yet been brought forward, but the present Minister of Instruction has undertaken to introduce such a one next session. A new aspect of the religious difficulty which the last few years have brought to light has meanwhile been dealt with administratively by the ministry of instruction in Prussia in a way which requires to be mentioned. Before proceeding to it I will sum up the present practice of the Prussian schools in respect of religious instruction.

Were the question asked, Is the Prussian system at the present moment a system of mixed or denominational education?—the answer must be, that there is no general law for the whole kingdom on the subject. According to the letter of the law any *commune* is free to have a mixed school, if it can agree to do so, and can obtain the consent of the authorities; but so strong is now the feeling against mixed schools that it is scarcely likely that this consent would ever be asked, or, were it asked, would be granted. By a

mixed school (*Simultanschule*) is meant one in which the teachers are taken in equal proportions from the two religions. In a village school, where there is only one master, the method was to appoint a Protestant and a Catholic alternately, on the vacancy of the office, an expedient which, at one time not uncommon in Posen and East Prussia, has ceased since 1856. The strictly secular school was introduced into the western provinces with the French law, as a necessary portion of the municipal system of that law in which the *commune* is a purely civil division; but though the Code Napoleon is still retained, a cherished possession, by the inhabitants of the left bank of the Rhine, the schools have almost all become confessional schools, and this without any legislative enactment, but by the mere current of circumstances. The *commune* still remains a civil corporation, with the obligation of building and maintaining both church and school for the inhabitants within its boundaries; but the preference of confessional schools is now so decided that Protestants and Catholics have invariably separate schools. In a parish where the Protestants are in a minority, for example, they will build and endow their own school, and then oblige the *commune* to pay for it, and to contribute to the master's salary. They retain the right, all this while, to send their children into the original, or Catholic, school, as it is then called; for the school, though legally common, has become in fact Catholic by the secession of the Protestants. A Protestant family in the neighbourhood of Mörs (Dep. Dusseldorf) having exercised the privilege of sending their children to such a school, in consequence of the great distance of the nearest Protestant school, when the time of examination came, the Catholic *Dekan* (inspector) held the examination as usual, without sending notice to the Protestant pastor, treating the school as a Catholic school. The pastor made a complaint to the departmental government, and the *Dekan* was reprimanded, these original schools being the property of the *commune*, and therefore equally open to both confessions. But when a congregation builds a school for itself it may oblige the *commune* to take it and to pay for it, but it may stipulate that it shall remain confessional, and such a school is not open to any other confession. In poor and remote villages a few mixed schools may still remain in the Rhine province, but they are only kept so by the poverty of the people, and are yearly disappearing before the advance of wealth and population. Even the grammar schools are all confessional, belonging to one of two classes; either, namely, being of old foundation, and therefore established by the Jesuits, or recently established by the congregations for their own use. Even in the latter case, however, children of the opposite confession are not excluded from attending them, *e. g.*, at Bonn, the Catholic *gymnasium* is very largely attended by Protestant boys, who receive their religious instruction separately from their own clergymen, all the masters being necessarily Catholic. The term of the French law, "*écoles communales*," which once conveyed the meaning of "civil" or "secular," no longer does so, but is used in Prussia (*communalschule*) in contradistinction to "private" schools. The Prussian *Allg. L. R.* knows the lower schools only as *Gemeinschule*. In common parlance they are spoken of as *Volksschule*,—schools for the people,—which is the term used in the Charter of 1851; but the word having acquired offensive

associations in 1848–9, they are now known officially as *elementarschule*.

I have as yet only spoken of the two great religious communions which divide the population between them:—

Population of Prussia (in 1855) 17,190,575.

Schulpflichtig children, 2,943,251 { Protestant, 1,830,782; Catholic, 1,069,687; Jewish, 35,374; Dissenting, 7,408

It is obvious how much the simplicity of this religious composition of the population facilitates the settlement of the difficulty in the way of compulsory attendance on religious teaching. The Jews present hardly any difficulty. Since the Jews have been regarded as "*schulpflichtig*" they have got their own schools in almost all large towns. The children of solitary families are usually indicated for the Protestant school, and then have the right to that exemption from the religious instruction which tit. 12. s. 11. of the *Allgemeines Landrecht* above quoted (see p. 211) confers. But the Jews would appear to make very little use of this exemption. With their native avidity for knowledge, they seem to like their children to become acquainted with the Christian doctrines as a portion of information. Or the wish that their children should appear in the world like other people's children, without any distinctive sect mark upon them, weighs more than the fear of conversion. Or they are conscious that they have little to fear, for such conversions, in fact, hardly ever occur. The Jewish house, with its old traditions, and strict family discipline, exercises an influence over the child against which that of the school teaching is as nothing.

The two great traditional Protestant sects of Lutherans and Presbyterians (*Reformirte*) are, as is well known, combined, in Prussia, Baden, and some other countries, into an "Evangelical establishment" (*Evangelische landeskirche*). In this union, while each sect preserves its distinctive doctrinal formula, public worship and government are one and the same. It follows that the Evangelical school is one and the same for both. But as the union of the sects is external only, not doctrinal, the Calvinists of course require that the points of belief by which they are distinguished from the Lutherans shall be taught in the schools to their children. Accordingly, in the districts of mixed (Lutheran and Presbyterian) population, the masters have been trained in the seminary to the use of both catechisms, the Heidelberg as well as Luther's. In the school the master either teaches them separately, or teaches Luther's catechism, with reference to the Heidelberg on the points of difference. In Neuwied I found the Lutheran and Calvinist congregations maintaining separate schools; but I was told that was a solitary instance in Prussia, for the *French* Calvinist schools in Berlin are scarcely a case in point. A great deal depends on the tact of the individual teacher, and much also on the temper of the people. Where the union is firmly rooted in public opinion, the differential points will constitute no school difficulty; but this is not always the case. The approximation of the two sects, which had been silently proceeding, and had advanced further than at any time since the Reformation, has been lately checked by a disposition on the part of some of the Lutheran clergy to lay stress on

the distinctive points. It is a cheap way to notoriety to preach "pure Lutheranism;" and any young preacher who chooses to do this in one of the large manufacturing towns, such as Düsseldorf or Elberfeld, can easily fan into flame the smouldering embers of religious discord between Lutheran and Reformed. This is preparing an embarrassment for the Evangelical schools which may compel the adoption of another system.

Dissent is not unknown in Protestant Germany. There are Baptists, Mennonites, Irvingites, &c.; but their numbers are so small as not to interfere with the system of denominational education. A new religious party, however, has risen into notice lately, which, though not very numerous, has, owing to the novelty of their tenets, caused much doubt as to how the existing law of compulsory education was to be applied in their case. These are the so-called Dissenters (*Dissidenten*) or Independent congregations (*freie Gemeinde*). These congregations do not require from their members as a condition of admission any assent, formal or implied, to any creed or confession of belief. They profess to be associated purely on the basis of securing to each individual entire freedom of conscience and understanding. They have, however, assemblies for mutual edification, ministers or preachers, and membership in the congregation. Their union in societies, on the one hand, and their want of any symbolical formula on the other, made it matter of great uncertainty how far they were entitled to the privilege of withdrawing their children from the religious instruction in the public schools. The paragraph of the code which secures that liberty is, as above quoted (p. 211), "children whom the laws of the state allow to be *brought up in any other religion* than that which is taught in the public school, cannot be compelled to attend the religious instruction given in the same." But as the Independent congregations repudiated all existing creeds, and possessed none of their own, it seemed that the words of the code, "brought up in any other religion," did not apply to their case. The executive had acted, up to 1859, on this interpretation of the law, and treated the *freie gemeinde* as political unions only. At length, after much arbitrary usage had been suffered by these bodies at the hands of the executive, and a great amount of public sympathy thus aroused for them, a decision upon their case was issued by the Ministry of Instruction in the beginning of the present year. This ministerial determination is so important, not only on account of the special question it treats, but for the sake of the legal argument on which it is based, that I give here the entire substance of it in a condensed form.

"Regulation of the Case of the Dissidents, so far as relates to the Religious Instruction in the Schools.—22 March 1859.

"The task of determining what are, according to the existing law of the state, the relations of the so-styled 'Dissidents,' about which uncertainty has long prevailed, falls upon the government. The grievances complained of are solely those of the Christian Catholic, and Independent, congregations, that is to say, those religious unions which had their origin in the forties, in the oppositional movement in the bosom of the two churches, and which follow a common negative tendency, in desiring to withdraw from

the confession and the discipline of these churches, which they regard as imposing undue constraint on religious freedom; societies whose doctrine evinces great indefiniteness, and whose constitution shows evident traces of democratic tendencies. The legal position of these unions must be determined partly from the patent, 30 March 1847, the Charter of 31 January 1850, and the Law on Associations of 11 March 1850. How far earlier laws are applicable to the case has been much debated. The situation is as follows:—

"Art. 12. of the Charter stands thus: 'The freedom of religious confession, of forming religious societies, and of meeting for domestic or public worship is guaranteed;' an article which is not merely a declaration of a general principle, but a specific legal enactment. This article, taken in connexion with the Law on Associations of 11 March 1850, leads to the conclusion that the provisions of the Code of 1794, subjecting religious societies to proof and approbation by the state, are abrogated. The threefold division, therefore, of religious societies, into adopted, accepted, and allowed, no longer exists. There are now only two kinds; such, namely, as have obtained corporate rights, and such as without these rights are subject to the general provisions of the Law on Associations. These latter belong to the category of allowed private societies, the rights of which are determined by the code. (*Allg. Landr.* ii. s. 11.)

"The first subject of complaint on the part of the Dissidents is, that they have been treated merely as private societies. They demand the grant of corporate rights, and call for the issue of the law on this subject promised in Art. 31. of the Charter.

"Their demand of corporate rights is one which never can be conceded, inasmuch as the Dissident societies can show none of the conditions, interior or exterior, of permanence; and it would not be right to perpetuate a mere transient phenomenon, or sickly phase of the development of church life, by endowing it with the rights of a moral person. The Dissident societies want the *inward* condition of permanence in the following respects:—1. They have no intellectual strength worth mentioning; their existence is rendered questionable as soon as ever no theologian can be found who has quitted his own church and will undertake the office of preacher in their congregation. 2. They have no definite religious convictions, such as can for any length of time animate their adherence. Their negative principle will have less and less power in proportion as opposition to their impulses of liberty is withdrawn. They want the *exterior* conditions of permanence, in that the great majority of their members belong to the less wealthy classes, who are scarcely able to provide the funds for ordinary worship, much less for perpetual endowments.

"It is especially within the province of the Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs to decide the question whether the religious instruction of the children of Dissidents is to be entrusted to the preachers of the Dissident societies or not, and whether or no their children are to be excused from the religious instruction given in the public schools.

"These questions have been hitherto answered from the following

point of view. It was held that the Dissidents, in quitting the church (Catholic or Evangelical), acquired, indeed, the rights of civil marriage, registration, and oath, but not those of an independent religious body. They were regarded as mere private societies, the members of which, in all other respects than those above mentioned, must be treated as belonging to one or other of the established churches. Their preachers, accordingly, could not have the quality of clergy, or the right to give catechetical instruction, but must be considered as simply private teachers, and as such requiring a licence from the state, after examination of their intellectual and moral qualifications. Further, it was held that Dissident parents could not claim the right under *Allg. Landr.* ii. 11. s. 11., to withdraw their children from the religious instruction given in the public school, but that the children must continue in the receipt of such instruction till the completion of their fourteenth year, when they would be competent to quit the church, and to join a Dissident congregation. In pursuance of this view, the consistory of ——— directed the clergy of the province to instruct the children of Dissidents in the creed of the church, and when they attained fourteen to confirm them, unless when the children themselves at that age had any other preference. If the parents resisted these measures, the clergyman was directed to apply to the court of wards for the appointment of a guardian. This was the view upon which the executive has hitherto acted.

"A different view of the case is henceforward to regulate its acts. 1. The capacity of the Dissident preacher to give catechetical instruction is not affected by the circumstance that the Dissident societies have not received express allowance from the Government. It is indeed true that these societies are only private societies, in the view of the *Allg. Landr.* ii. 6. s. 11., and that their preachers have no official character, such as that enjoyed by the clergy of the Catholic and Evangelic churches. But it does not follow from this that they are to be considered simply as private teachers in respect of any religious instruction they may give to the youth of the Dissident congregation, and therefore require a teacher's licence. The cabinet order of 10th June 1834 regulates only such private instruction as takes the place of the public school instruction, and cannot without violence be applied to any religious instruction given by the Dissident preachers to their youth, analogous to the preparation for confirmation given in the church. The Dissident preacher takes, under Art. 12. of the Charter, the right to teach and edify his congregation; consequently he must have the right to instruct and edify the children belonging to his congregation, duties which come under the general notion of spiritual ministration, and he cannot be required to be examined and licensed thereto by the school officer. Such an examination by the school examiners would, besides, be impossible, without entering upon an inquiry into the subject of instruction, *i. e.*, the creed of the Dissident preacher himself, in respect of which, however, he enjoys absolute freedom. Nay, a licence grounded on such an examination would be objectionable, as seeming to involve approval of the creed in question. Thus much only is to be held, that any act resembling confirmation with which the Dissident preacher may choose to close

his catechetical preparation can convey no civil privilege; nor can any certificate of the same which he may issue, nor his certificate of birth or marriage, have any public validity.

"Dissident parents cannot be held under any obligation to let their children partake the religious instruction given in the public school which they attend. The contrary conclusion has been drawn from the concluding words of s. 2. of those decisions of the Code which have been collected and annexed to the patent of 30th March 1847. It is there said of the Dissident societies, that 'their members form no legally constituted religious body, even when they expressly design to separate themselves from the church corporations admitted by the state. They are still mere private societies, and must continue to be regarded as members of that religious body to which they had previously belonged, save in so far as exceptions might be made in their favour by special enactment.'

"First, it may be remarked that the above paragraph is not extracted from the text of the *Allgemeines Landrecht*, but is a deduction from various passages of it, and it is doubtful if this deduction has acquired the force of law by its insertion into the Collection of the Statutes; still more questionable is the further assumption, that this paragraph is still law since the issue of the Charter, Art. 12. of which guarantees the right to form new religious communities. In no case, however, can the doctrine be admitted, that the Dissidents do not form a distinct religious body '*quoad interna*,' *i.e.*, in respect of the exercise of their religion and the religious instruction of their youth, and cannot, therefore, enjoy the right created by *Allg. Landr.* ii. 12. s. 11.:—'Children whom the laws of the state allow to be brought up in any other religion than that which is taught in the public school cannot be compelled to attend the religious instruction given in the same.'

"The constraint enforced against Dissident parents on this score appears to be a direct invasion of the religious liberty secured to them by the Charter, as well as of the rights of the father or parents over the education of the children, as recognized by the Code, *Allg. Landr.* ii. s. 74. There are certainly two conditions of this dispensation: 1. There must be evidence that the children receive religious instruction elsewhere, to which end it will be sufficient to recognize the instruction given by the Dissident preacher; 2. The religious instruction so given by the Dissident preacher must contain nothing contrary to the laws of the state, nor anything tending to vice or immorality. Further, there cannot be conceded to the church the right to bring up in its doctrine and to confirm children who have been baptised in it without the consent of the father. The children, however, as soon as they have completed their fourteenth year, are free to choose their own faith. This by *Allg. Landr.* ii. s. 84.

"It has been objected to this statement of the law that by it the Christian churches are deprived of a protection which is essential to their existence. The reply is, that these great national societies have, according to Prussian constitutional law, no right to this species of protection, which involves constraint upon persons holding different opinions; nor will they make any such claim in the consciousness of their spiritual power and commission. As

Christian churches they are to fight with the weapons of the spirit, and will overcome these lamentable religious errors just in proportion to the freedom and energy with which they develope the principle of life that is in them.

"The danger for the state would be much more alarming did we anticipate that, owing to the defective religious instruction of the Dissident preacher, a generation would grow up without the fear of God, the foundation of all social order. Serious as this consideration is, it cannot justify a deviation from right and justice, nor would it be reason enough for further legislative restraints upon liberty, since experience teaches that political repression is itself a cause of these aberrations of the instinct of freedom in the domain of religion, while a healthy and vigorous political life readily reabsorbs them."

Proceeding upon these principles, the Ecclesiastical Minister, on 28th February of the present year, made the following statement of the views of the Government to the Chamber of Deputies.

"From the ground which I occupy as Ecclesiastical Minister, I must heartily welcome the abandonment of all further attempts at police coercion of innocent religious meetings, whatever be the religious tenets of the parties. Such attempts have more or less the character of religious persecution, and are in harmony neither with the tradition of the monarchy nor with its present constitution, still less do they serve the true interests of the two great religious communities between which the nation is divided. The two churches would be subscribing a testimonial of their own spiritual poverty if they relied on such means for maintaining themselves. Christianity overcame the world by free conviction, and will continue to maintain and extend itself by this force alone.

"One point in relation to these associations has occasioned much dispute, and is very difficult of settlement, viz., the religious instruction of their youth. The Dissident bodies claim here a two-fold right; first, that of giving religious instruction through the medium of their own orators, clergy or whatever they are to be called; and, secondly, the right of keeping their children away from the religious lesson given in the public schools. Both these rights have hitherto been denied them. Their teachers have been treated as private teachers, and as such subject to examination. The government, after careful consideration, has arrived at the conviction, that the regulations for private teachers are not applicable to the present case, and that the religious instruction of their youth is an essential part of the free exercise of their religion, as guaranteed by Art. 12. of the Charter, and that there is therefore nothing to prevent the teachers of the Dissident societies from giving this instruction.

"I am also convinced, that, according to the old Prussian tradition, and the well-known clause of the *Allgemeines Landrecht*, we have no right to compel their children to attend our religious instruction, whether in the school or in the church, if the condition laid down by the *Landrecht* be complied with, that their religious instruction is provided for elsewhere; and the instruction given by the Dissident clergy must stand for such. This is according to our belief, the law of the case, and we are bound to adhere to it.

"In forming its decision the government has not overlooked the

practical inconveniences which may arise from the view we have adopted. It appears, strangely enough, as if the state were scrupulously careful to exact from the whole of its youth, that they shall learn to read, write, and cipher, while it is content to ignore their instruction in religion and morals. What instruction of this kind the children are receiving, the state, it seems, cares not to inquire. It may happen that the children may perhaps never have been taught the Ten Commandments, those first axioms of every civil society: Thou shalt not steal; Thou shalt do no murder; Thou shalt not take the name of thy God in vain: indeed with many of these Dissident bodies it is very doubtful whether there is an acknowledgment of any personal God. All this rests not on our head, but on that of those who are charged by God and the law with the bringing up of these children. They ought conscientiously to consider whether they will give their children the religious instruction of the public school, which is based upon principles which have stood the test of centuries, or that apparently very meagre teaching which their own preachers impart.

"The result at which we have arrived is not only the only legal but the only practicable course; for what influence can the school have when it is at war with the family, when the children hear at home that what they have learnt at the school is idle and superstitious nonsense? On the two Christian churches falls the duty of seeking that which was lost, not by violent and repressive measures, but in the way of love, endeavouring by precept and example to recover that which has gone astray."

This legal argument and opinion issued by the bureau of Public Worship and Instruction is sufficiently popular to explain itself. The opinion on the case which it conveys is so far authoritative that it will govern the practice of the educational department so long as the present minister (Von Bethman-Hollweg) presides over it. The high quarter from which it proceeds, however, has not shielded it from adverse criticism. It has been replied, that the argument of the Minister of Instruction assumes that the catechetical instruction of children is an inseparable portion of the exercise of religion. If this were so, the inference would rightly follow, that as the free exercise of their religion is guaranteed to all denominations by the Charter, the free exercise of religious instruction is also covered by that guarantee. 1. But the catechetical instruction of youth has a double character, that of an act of edification, and that of an act of instruction, and as such must fall under Art. 22. of the Charter, which places all instructors of youth, private or public, under the control of the executive. 2. Were it conceded that the Dissident preachers had the legal right to instruct their youth in religion, it would not follow that this religious instruction was to be the substitute for that given in the public schools, and that Dissident parents had the right to withdraw their children from such public instruction. To the former, viz., the instruction of the children by the Dissident preachers, so much objection would not be made were it tacitly connived at, and not officially sanctioned, as it now is by the document of 22 March; but the latter gives, it is argued, to the parents, a control over the religious belief of their children which neither usage, nor the Code of Prussia, sanctions. The

Allg. Landrecht, th. iii. tit. 2. ss. 83, 84, provides, "No religious society may admit a child which has not completed its fourteenth year to communion with it, or to the public profession of any other religion than that to which the child already legally belongs, not even with the consent of the parents. After the completion of the fourteenth year, the child is free to determine for itself what religious body it will join." The Prussian law thus recognizes no absolute right of the parents over the children; it interposes to protect the minor from being deprived by his parents of his inherited religion. If the parents leave their church, they cannot take their young children with them. This paragraph of the Code can never be intended to be repealed by the Charter, Art. 12., inasmuch as it is a protection of the religious liberty of the child, not an invasion of that of the parent. Finally, that there is no such difficulty in the way of an examination of the Dissident teachers as the Regulation pretends. The Jewish and old Lutheran teachers submit without complaint to be examined by the usual boards of examiners. Of the Jewish candidates it is asserted that they prefer to be examined by the Christian examiners to having a special board for themselves alone. And that if Dissident teachers are allowed to form an exception to the general enforcement of examination as a qualification, incapable persons will eagerly seize this door of entrance into the office of private teacher.

In the smaller states the term Dissident is hardly known; but for the old Dissenting communities, Mennonites, Baptists, &c., we find the same tolerant protection as in Prussia. Their children are compelled to attend school equally with the rest, but are not required to attend the religious instruction. The ordinary authorities are often empowered to see that the children receive this instruction from their respective ministers.

In estimating the value of the German experience on the subject of religious teaching in the schools, we must bear in mind the fact that the present decided tendency towards denominational teaching is the result of attempts carried on for many years under very favourable circumstances to perfect the opposite system of unsectarian education. The German school is not in the rude stage of traditional church divisions upon which the light of the modern idea of mutual toleration and approximation has yet to dawn. It has passed through the tolerative period, and has striven to mould itself on those principles, and is now deliberately recurring to a system of separate schools, more sharply divided than ever. Because the system of common schools, as in Holland and Massachusetts, has never been introduced into Germany by government on a large scale, we are likely to overlook the truth that the same effect was attained in another way, viz., by the character of the teaching given. The Evangelical and Catholic church have, with a few exceptions, continued ever since the Reformation to have their separate schools. But the schoolmaster was so intently engaged on the problem of how far the intellectual development and formation of character could be pushed in the school, that the doctrinal antitheses which had engaged so much attention in the sixteenth century lost their interest. Every branch which had been traditionally taught in the school retained any importance

only so far as it bore on the development of the mind, which was the great object of pedagogic effort in those times. The movement originated by Pestalozzi showed how essential a part of child-formation religion constituted, and accordingly the truths of religion were estimated by the teachers, not according to their theological but according to their educational value. Dogmatical distinctions fell into the background in the practical teaching of the schools, though only in a few countries, *e.g.*, Nassau in 1815, did government interfere so far as to make mixed schools. The course of events appears to have given a practical refutation to the whole of this pedagogic method. The bubble of a "common Germany" exploded about ten years ago; but long before that epoch the current of opinion had been setting in a contrary direction, viz., towards giving life and emphasis to the local denominational elements in the formation of character. In the very parts of the left bank of the Rhine, the Palatinate, &c., which had been annexed to France, and in which, consequently, the French secular school had been introduced, the sentiment of the population itself reverted to the old confessional school. The mixed schools in Nassau were reconverted into separate schools. In Saxony ten years of age is fixed as the period at which dogmatic instruction must begin, and the child must be placed at a confessional school. In Prussia the first impulse in the new direction came, not from the Lutheran, but from the Catholic church. The government resisted step by step the invasions of the Catholic hierarchy. The latter were triumphant, excepting a few slight concessions, more apparent than real. Not only is the government control over the Catholic schools much less than that which it can exercise over the Evangelical, but the government superintendence is now little able to secure that the Catholic schools in the remote eastern districts perform efficiently the work of elementary instruction. The success of the Catholic hierarchy stimulated the Evangelical church to efforts in its own behalf. The government, instead of resisting, adopted the views which were rising every day to more and more influence in the church. The old bureaucratic position of impartiality between the contending religious confessions was gradually lost sight of. Against the exclusiveness of the Roman Catholic church was to be set up an equal exclusiveness on the part of the Evangelical. Within the bosom of the Evangelical church the union fell into discredit. The Lutheran section of it, under the influence of the tendency of the age, began to emphasise the tenets by which it is distinguished from the Reformed, and in many places a disruption of the school unions threatens to be the consequence.

But though the triumph of the confessional over the "universal" system which it has supplanted is at present so complete, it may be admitted that the experiment would have been more satisfactory were it clear that the reaction had its origin in a practical working experience, and not in a mere inconstancy of philosophical theory. It will hardly be denied that the latter has co-operated in bringing opinion to its present point on this subject. But the inquiry into the respective parts of experience and theory in this result is beyond the scope of this memoir. With respect to the part taken by the Government, a very short observation will convince any

one that in their encouragement of this tendency the German governments follow, and do not lead. The movement is too powerful for them to resist. It has gained the central authority through its feelers, by first gaining the men who, having acquired their experience as teachers and clergymen, have to be promoted to the places of school councillor, director, or superintendent. It may be said, indeed, that the ministerial (Von Raumer) appointments to educational posts have been party appointments, and that a number of eminent men (Diesterweg) and advocates of "universal" education have been got rid of or passed over, and that this has given an appearance of preponderance to the opposed opinion which it does not really possess. It may be true that the governments have used their influence to give all the effect possible to the new views on education; but they did not create these views. The cause of which Diesterweg was champion was lost before he was dismissed from his post of director of the seminary at Berlin. Nor must we confound a radical change, such as has taken place in educational practice, with the passing politics of the day. Pedagogic theory and practical teaching in Germany have been carried so far, are exercised on such a scale, and employ so many minds, that they now determine their own revolutions, and do not shift with changing ministries.

This leads me to a concluding observation on the prospects of success and permanence which await the movement for reviving a spirit of strict Lutheranism or churchmanship (*Kirchenthum*) in the elementary school. A system of confessional schools contains the principle of its own disorganization, unless it can be guaranteed against the secession of new sects, and the consequent subdivision of each school into unmanageable fractions. The spirit of dogmatic mutual exclusion, once introduced into the school, seems to leave no choice but to go on till it is consistently carried through. The system of denominational schools was the natural and obvious arrangement while it was supposed that the boundaries of the existing confessions were unalterably fixed, that theological controversy could provoke no more disruption, and that the religious life of the nation was unequal to throwing out new ecclesiastical forms; but if these causes for alarm are still distant, if the danger of a dissolution of the Evangelic establishment (*Landeskirche*), or of the increase of the Dissident Independents (*freie Gemeinde*), be not imminent, it still remains a question if the High Lutheran movement will be able to maintain that exclusive possession of elementary education which it has for the moment obtained. Like the Catholic church, the new Lutheran movement relies on authority; but while the authority on which the Catholic rests is the moral authority of its historical position, the High Lutheran appeals to the secular power, to exterior drill, and the ordinances of "*die obrigkeit.*" But, as we have already seen, the school in Germany is overweighted with authority from above, but stands in need of sympathy and attachment from below. Were there any signs that the present church movement attracted to itself any part of the deep and widely diffused religious feelings which exist in the German peoples, it might be the means of supplying new life to the school, which it is not likely to do as long as it is confined to the clergy and the nobles.

I have now to describe in detail the several parts of the religious instruction given in the Evangelical schools, and the general principles on which these details are arranged.

The principles attempted to be carried out in this branch of teaching in the elementary schools over the whole extent of (at least) North Germany are those embodied in the Prussian *Regulativen* of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd of October 1854. The struggle between the advocates of the new and the old method of teaching has taken the shape of controversy about the Prussian *Regulativen*, though this document did not originate but only gave the sanction of authority to the educational views of the church party. The *Regulativen* proclaim in their preamble that "the whole life of the century having reached a point at which a decisive transformation of it has become necessary, the school also must enter upon a new path. The life of the people requires remoulding, and building up, in conformity with its originally given and eternal realities, upon the foundation of Christianity, which in its legitimate form, that of the church, ought to pervade the family, the profession, the *commune*, and the state." This decisive revolution is to include the religious teaching in the school. The principles which had previously governed this part of the instruction may be briefly stated as follows:—In the old German school, which we may call for distinction sake the school of the eighteenth century, religion had become merely one among the other branches of instruction. The catechism and the Scripture text were learnt by heart, repeated in a mechanical way, and no attempt was made to explain or understand them. A reform corresponding to that which the Pietists worked in the church was worked in the school religion, if not by Pestalozzi himself, at least by the movement which originated with him. The mechanical method was banished; the child was not to learn anything it did not understand; the dogmatic part of Christianity was to be left for the period of preparation for confirmation by the pastor, and the schoolmaster was to confine himself to the history of the Old Testament, the Life of Christ, and the practical precepts of religion. Further, religion, it was seen, could not be inculcated by being taught to the understanding. It was not merely to have a place among the branches of instruction, but must pervade the discipline of the school. The child must not merely learn the truths of religion, but must be religiously brought up; religion and virtue must be presented to its will as a discipline, and to its heart as a devotional sentiment. These sound pedagogic maxims, however, led, in conjunction with the theological bias of the time, to a comparative neglect in the school of external religion and of the special doctrines of Christianity. The Pestalozzian teacher liked to teach nothing but what had in it a meaning for the child's capacities; and the pastor found thrown upon his hands the irksome task of making the child commit to memory the words of the catechism, which it ought to have learnt at school. Luther's Catechism dropt into desuetude, and others (*e.g.*, Dinter's) were introduced which put forward the truths of natural religion, and the general and preceptive part of Christianity.

The two great evils in the religious teaching of the Pestalozzian school which the *Regulativen* propose to remedy are these: the contempt of the church and church authority, and the disregard of

doctrinal truth. The school is to be restored to its place as an organ of the church for training the children to church membership. The specific doctrines of the church are not to be reserved for the end, but placed at the beginning of the school course; at æt. 10 or even æt. 8. K. von Raumer of Erlangen thinks they should begin with æt. 4. "The child," says the *Regulativen*, "which has been by baptism incorporated with Christ's Church, is to enter at confirmation into the congregation as an independent member of the same. Meanwhile, the school receives the children, in order to prepare them for the conscious reception of all the gifts of grace which the scheme of salvation contains, of which gifts they are prospectively heirs. The teacher must be a consecrated person, able to say, as Christ's representative, 'Suffer little children to come unto me, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.'" The means of this preparation which the school is to employ are then briefly summed up in the *Regulativ*. I may describe the mode in which the principles which the *Regulativ* of 3 October 1854 lays down are attempted to be carried out in the Prussian schools, under the following heads:—

1. *School prayers.*—School is opened and concluded every day with prayer, in which all the children join. The prayer consists of the Lord's Prayer, the Morning and Evening Benediction, to which is sometimes added, for elder children, the prayer for the Universal Church, and other prayers from the Liturgy in use in the churches. This is all that the *Regulativ* prescribes; but in some schools special school Liturgies are introduced for occasional use, monthly or weekly, and on commemoration days (the Reformation, king's birthday, &c.); in special seasons as Advent, &c., when the Creed and Ten Commandments are sometimes added. There are such school Liturgies drawn up which contain an order of daily service for every day in the year, but I have not happened to meet with any school in which these were used. In all the schools the children are accustomed to observe the order of the church year. Every Saturday the gospel for the following Sunday is read in class, and its bearing on the church season explained. In the course of the child's schooltime it has committed to memory the whole of the gospel portions (*Perikopen*) for the year. At the periods of the great festivals (the days themselves mostly fall in the holidays; New Year's Day, Easter, Pentecost, the Reformation, All Souls,) the schoolroom is decorated with flowers, greens, or immortelles, and appropriate hymns out of the church hymnal sung. It is the duty of the teacher to inculcate on the children the obligation of regular attendance at church on Sundays and holy days, himself to set them the example, and to urge on the parents to do the same. In order, however, to meet any tendency to formalism and hollowness (*Heuchelei*) which might arise, a movement is springing up for infant services (*Kindergottesdienst*). These are to be held in the schoolroom, either by the master or the minister, and are to replace the church service (*Predigt*) for unconfirmed persons, having prayers, hymns, and sermon all adapted to the comprehension of children. These sermons to children are designed, says the preface to a volume of such sermons preached in the infant service at Erlangen, "to bring home in an edifying way to the child's heart the treasures which the Word of God contains for the sanctification

of childhood, and which mere religious instruction fails to convey." Similar in character are the children's prayer meetings (*Erbauungsstünde*) held at Zwickau, Leipsic (in the hall of the *Gesammtgymnasium*), and other places. Besides the common morning and evening devotion, the hour of the religious lesson is to have a devotional character. Every week a text is learnt, and a hymn, verse by verse, daily. The hymn verse for the day is to be devotionally sung as part of the lesson. "The Christian teacher must make it his especial care to keep himself in such a steadfast frame of contrition and grace that he sincerely and with might pray audibly with his scholars for them and for himself. The spirit of joy and truth with which he can use such prayer will be the best measure of his fitness for his task. The true life of the Christian school is, that, founded on God's Word, and placing himself under his guidance, it be an institution profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for instruction in righteousness." (*Reg.* 3 October 1854.)

2. *Scripture.*—"The Bible is the field in which the Christian elementary school has to solve the problem of how to ground and build up the Christian life of the youth entrusted to it." (*Regul.*) In teaching Scripture a twofold method is pursued: 1. The historical contents of the Old and New Testament are taught to the children in chronological order, beginning with the creation of the world. The object of this lesson is not so much knowledge of the Bible as to use the Bible as a revealed record of the progress of the Kingdom of God on earth. The child should gain an experimental knowledge of this history. In its two first years it does not go beyond the simpler histories, the creation, the flood, the call of Abraham, the history of Moses, and some of the plainer Gospel narratives; and when it can read fluently it proceeds with the later history of the chosen people. The early lessons are given by the teacher relating the history strictly in the words of Scripture, then explaining what may be necessary, and then teaching the children to repeat as much as they can recollect, keeping them also closely to the inspired words. It has been much disputed whether the Bible itself or a book of selections should be used in this lesson, after the children have learnt to read. The most generally approved practice now is to use some book of select histories (*kinderfreund*), in which the exact text of the authorized version stands, without addition or alteration, but with omissions. 2. The Bible is never used as a "reading book;" but the elder classes read select portions of the psalms, prophets, and epistles, (but these sparingly) as a religious lesson. They may also supplement the lesson of Scripture history by reading with the teacher at greater length the select histories already gone through. Some of the normal lesson plans for school districts prescribe a carefully selected series of Scripture histories, and the master is not at liberty to deviate from it.

3. *Catechism.*—The principle which is to govern the teaching of catechism is, that the dogmatic instruction of the school is only introductory to that of the church. The school is to confine itself to inculcation into the memory of the form of words, and the church's preparation for confirmation has the right of expounding their sense. The master is strictly prohibited from founding any catechetical teaching upon the matter of the catechism, though he ought

to see that the children not merely repeat it correctly but understand the words in which it is conceived. The master is to carry the child through the mechanical stage, in order that the pastor may take it up, and first initiate it into the church's sense. This regulation has for its object, not merely the subordination of the master to the pastor, but the counteraction of that axiom of the Pestalozzian school, according to which the child was never to hear that which it did not understand. The old method of instruction is now to be revived in all branches, but especially in religion, as the only security for the transmission of the truth of revelation from generation to generation. No part of the new method has encountered more difficulties in carrying through than this. The old teachers of the Pestalozzi period, who had learnt to look upon mechanical inculcation with detestation, and the most agreeable part of whose labour was that catechetical Socratic method by which the young mind was led on step by step to recognize truth, found the greatest difficulty in bowing their necks to the yoke. And all skilled instructors, and just in proportion to their skill, felt the degradation of being subordinated in their own profession to the pastor. The pastor, in virtue of his profession, his income, and his university education has a social position above that of the schoolmaster; but this very university education, however it may have qualified him as a theologian, does not include the art of teaching children, which the master has acquired by a long and laborious process before, in, and after the seminary. Nor are the masters alone recalcitrant. Many of the older school councillors have thought it necessary to send round circulars in their districts, which put a less strict construction on this enactment of the *Regulativ* (*e.g.*, Potsdam, Merseberg, Breslau). All the other modern catechisms are now banished from the schools throughout Prussia, Saxony, Hesse, &c., and only Luther's (except the Heidelberg) admitted into the school. As to age, the *Regulativ* prescribes that up to æt. 10 the child shall only learn the five "chief articles" (*hauptstücke*) *i.e.*, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Words of Institution in the Sacraments. At 10 it begins to learn Luther's exposition upon the same.

4. *Hymns.* The learning of hymns from the church hymnal holds an important place in the school instruction, corresponding to that which the hymnal itself (*gesangbuch*) holds in the congregation. As to quantity, the Prussian school now requires that every child in the school shall, before it quits, learn at least 30; but the practice of many schools raises this to 50, or even more, on the same principle of first furnishing the memory with a store of words, and leaving them to germinate in the understanding. With respect to the choice, the *Regulativ* gives a list of 80 hymns, out of which the 30 necessary may be selected by the local inspector. The principle of this selection is to take such hymns as treat the fundamental points of Christian faith and practice. There is at present much controversy, not about the selection but about the text of the school hymns; for as the hymnals in different districts vary infinitely, not only in the hymns they contain but in their text, it is wished by some that a uniform text should be introduced into the school, this text to be, of course, the original text of the hymn as it came from its author. The government in Prussia certainly have the power

of ordering this in the school, but as it could not introduce the same book into the congregation, which is extremely tenacious of the hymn book in use, whatever it may be, the consequence would be, that the children would be learning one text in school and singing another in church. And though a recurrence to the original text would almost always be a gain in purity of expression and correctness of theological language, yet would an attempt at uniformity weaken that local colouring or provincialism of thought which has been infused by gradual adoption into the hymns in use in a district. What would be gained in point of taste and purity would be lost in devotional effect. The Ministry of Instruction in Prussia has not yet proceeded further in the direction of prescribing uniformity in the schools throughout the provinces.

2. *Of the other Parts of Elementary Teaching.*

It will not be necessary for me to say more than a few words on the other subjects taught in the schools, bearing in mind your instructions, in which you directed me "to ascertain the nature of the matters taught, and very generally the mode of teaching them," but "not to inquire at any length into the details connected with this subject."

However widely parties may be divided on other educational points, there is at present a wonderful unanimity among all the leading teachers and others who have to do with the schools in the endeavour to make the people's school practical. There was a time when it was thought that the more could be taught the better the school, and learning was supposed to be accomplished by passive listening. This time is gone by. Whatever may be the case in the classical schools, there is a general consent now to confine the number of subjects taught to as few as possible; to select such as bear on practical life, and to teach them in as simple and elementary a method as possible. That this tendency is equally conspicuous in every district of the vast complex of the German Federation I do not say, but wherever I have gone I have invariably found that this tendency to the practical, and dread of anything resembling the empty phrase-mongering method of former days, was in proportion to the vigour and general advance of the schools in the district. Where the school system was lax, there the vanity of lecturing, instead of making the children learn, might be found still lingering. I have seen a teacher young, but old enough to know better, having left the seminary some years, expounding, very much to his own satisfaction, as he lounged with his elbows on the desk, the moral and religious meanings of Herder's parable of the Three Vases. The children, village children of 9–12, boys and girls, were eating bread and butter, tying up their nosegays, and passing the time as well as they could. When I ventured to interrupt the performance by requesting that the children might be set on in the reading book, not one here and there, but as they sate, I was not surprised to discover that half of them could not read, and that those who could read could not get through a sentence without making several blunders, not from not knowing better, but from a habit of carelessness contracted in the school. This was *not* a Prussian school. Whatever may be the shortcomings of the

Prussian school, though its standard of attainment may be below that of Würtemberg or Saxony, it earns, before others, the praise of thoroughness and practicality. It may aim at little, but its principle is to achieve it. It may look too little to the cultivation of the imagination, but it is possessed by a practical spirit which tolerates no showing off. A Prussian *Schulrath* in visiting a school may be blind to many patent faults, but his eye is quick as lightning to detect the least trace of hollowness or pretentiousness in the teaching. From the sensitiveness of everyone connected with the school on this point, it is easy to see that they have gone through a painful experience connected with it. It is one great advantage of centralized school management, that all temptation to the exhibition of superficial accomplishment is taken away. The elementary school has not to approve itself to a casual public, but to the experienced eye of professional inspection only. In the private boarding schools of Prussia, or institutions like those of Francke's Foundation at Halle, and all schools which depend on public patronage, annual examinations, when company are invited and prizes are awarded, are usual. But this is quite against the feeling which prevails in the elementary schools, and though the examinations in these are public, they are never turned into an exhibition.

That the dread of the abstract may be carried to excess is possible; it would be a great loss should this dread make the stores of pedagogic experience which Germany possesses inaccessible to the present generation of teachers. Already terms once universal begin to savour of pedantry, and are becoming obsolete. The once favorite word *Pädagogik* is shunned, and supplanted by some more homely compound, such as *Unterrichtskunde*, and other technical terms are resolved into indirect phrases. This is carried to such a length in official language, that more than one circular minute has been issued of late years couched in such vague and remote language that it was impossible to make out from the document itself what matter was being regulated by it. It seems a parodox to say that this cloudy circumlocution proceeds from an earnest practical aim; it is, however, only necessary to compare the clumsy and empty generalizations of the three Prussian *Regulativen* with the sincerely practical temper of those who framed and who work them to see that such can be the case. It may perhaps be thought that this excessive leaning to the actual is the safer extreme in Germany, sure to be corrected as it is by the constant tendency of its educational literature in the other direction.

This practical aim the elementary school of North Germany now strives to realize by,—

1. Limitation of the number of matters taught in the school. The ambition of the past generation of schoolmasters was to teach as great a variety of matters as possible; now, the schools are strictly confined to elementary teaching, reading, writing, the four rules of arithmetic, and singing. The only addition to this allowed in the village one-class school is one hour per week for drawing, limited to geometrical figure tracing; and the singing may be enlarged to the execution of liturgical chants, if approved by the local inspector. Three hours per week also may be allotted to natural phenomena.

2. Compensation for what is thus lost in extent by greater

perfection in the handling. The elementary school is not to communicate knowledge, but to qualify the child to perform certain simple operations. The instruction must be thorough, but it must be elementary. The master's business is, not to talk, or even question, but to make the scholars practise. It is not enough that the child learns how; it must show that it knows how by the facility with which it performs. A child at school must be treated like an apprentice, who learns his trade simply by being set to work at it.

3. Concentration of teaching, as it is called. By this is meant that the various matters thus learnt in the people's school group themselves round a common point, like circles which have a common centre. This centre is the child and his vocation in life. Not that the elementary school is to undertake to prepare for different trades and industrial callings; far from it. The attempt made to introduce such branches under the name "Knowledge of common things" is a violation of this concentration. Industrial training belongs to special schools. The elementary school is to confine itself to that elementary skill which every citizen needs, whatever his future calling may be. What the child has to learn are not so many distinct subjects, but the connected use of the organs, speech, sound, sight, hand, &c. with which nature has furnished him. The extent of what he has to acquire is determined by his own position in the world. This excludes at once the fatal ambition of the old school, to give an intellectual training; to develope the powers of thought by formal exercise of them. This may be the work of higher schools or universities, but must never be attempted by the elementary school.

The matters taught in the Prussian schools, and the distribution of time among them in a one-class village school, teaching 26 hours per week, would be as follows:

Religion	6 hours.
Reading and writing	12 „
Ciphering	5 „
Singing	3 „
	26

In the upper division one hour per week may be got for drawing, by deducting it from the writing lessons. Separate lessons on natural phenomena can hardly be given in the village school; but the teacher is to take the opportunities which the reading-book offers of bringing natural objects from time to time before the class. For a school with the full complement of classes, *i.e.*, six, or a class for the children of each year, except the two last, who are classed together, an enlargement of the lesson plan is obtained at the expense of the 12 hours writing and reading. The hour per day for religion is never to be encroached upon. In country schools the lesson plan has to be adapted to the half-time system in districts where this is customary. It is there called the summer-school, as it is only in the summer, when the bigger children are employed in tending cattle, that it is allowed. What the elder children lose by this the younger gain, as it is in summer that they attend school with the most regularity, and the master has thus more time to devote to them. In other respects, also,

it seems to be established that in a village school, where only one master can be maintained, the half-time school is not only not disadvantageous, but really brings the children better forward than the whole-time; for in full school-time with the 80 children which the Prussian law allows, and this number is constantly exceeded, the master can really only devote half the time to each division of the children. The one half ought during the instruction of the other to be occupied with preparing tasks or with arithmetic or writing lessons. But such silent occupations do little good towards forwarding the child's progress, as it soon finds out that it is only so employed for the sake of keeping it quiet. Besides this, for children at their first introduction to school, six, or even five hours is too long a time. A movement was accordingly set on foot some time ago for introducing the half-day school in winter as well as summer, and throughout the whole of the Prussian territory. The government, however, declined to do this. The claim of the school on the whole day of children up to æt. 14 has been so long established in Prussia that it was thought better to retain it intact, and to provide for exceptional cases by allowing the local inspector to sanction a half-time school in cases where the schoolroom is overfilled, or where the number of scholars exceeds 80.

The principles above stated are carried through the several branches of instruction.

1. *Language* (*Sprachunterricht*), *i.e.* reading, writing (orthography and penmanship), are taught simultaneously.—There is no part of elementary teaching in which the scientific mind of the German has been more successfully applied to shape practice than that of language. A long series of carefully watched experience has brought the method to a wonderful perfection. This cannot, of course, be seen exemplified in any one school, but must be gathered from an inspection of schools in a variety of provinces, with the various obstacles which dialect, conformation of the organ, slowness of conception, present to be overcome by the instructor. From the deaf and dumb institution up to vocal melody, through all the grades of infant school and reading class, the cultivation of the speech-organ is an object of assiduous attention. Many seminaries have deaf and dumb institutions attached to them, not merely that the students may learn the art of teaching such patients, but because it is found that the principles of language instruction can be best studied in this its most difficult form. High German, with its peculiarly artificial forms, and coming to the children of whole districts in the north of Germany as a new and foreign tongue, is well adapted to be, what it now is, the great instrument of culture in country schools. In the Polish and Wendish districts the Prussian school administration is obliged to defer to deeply-rooted national habit, and to admit those languages into the school; but in the Low German districts High German is not merely taught in school, but is strictly maintained as the school language. Not to exceed the limits prescribed to me by your instructions, I shall confine myself on this branch to the observation of two points in which the general principles above stated are carried into language teaching. First, an important step has been made, by banishing grammatical lessons, *i.e.*, the analytical mode of learning language,

from the elementary school. In the classical school, grammar, as an elementary logic, subserves the chief purpose of such schools, viz., the training of the intellectual powers, and is therefore in place in such schools. From the practice of the Latin schools the grammar was transferred to the people's schools, which were of later origin; and as the development of the thinking powers is now recognized to be no part of the object of such schools, the anatomy of language is properly banished, as a superfluous study. The mother-tongue must be learnt in these schools practically by using it. It is not a knowledge to be studied, but a power to be exercised. The language instinct (*sprachgefühl*) which every child possesses must be cultivated by assiduous exercise, of which reading, speaking, writing are only so many various forms. The language instinct is the true guide through the intricacies of grammar. Secondly, the extent to which language must be pursued in the people's school is decided by the purpose of the school as above laid down. The child requires a command of language as one of the necessary qualifications with which to commence life. Less than this would create a positive disability to its disadvantage. The language in which it ought to be qualified should not be the dialect of its province, as confining it within too narrow a sphere. It must be introduced into the universal language of its countrymen; the language of books and writing. The language instinct which nature has given it requires to be transferred from its mother dialect to the common German tongue, and practised till it has acquired a complete power, both of understanding what others mean, and of conveying its own meaning to others (*sprachverständniss, Sprachfertigkeit.*) This is the end which the elementary school must keep in view.

With respect to learning to read, no particular method is prescribed by the Prussian regulations. The schools are left free to employ that which recommends itself to them for the time, and to change it from time to time. The phonic method is still common, but it appears to be in course of being superseded by the *schreiblesen.* Other methods, as that of Jacotot, the "progressive " method," have their advocates, and it is common to find in schools parts of these several methods used in combination. It is scarcely necessary to say that the method of beginning with the names of the letters, and the spelling words with these names, has been disused in all good schools for the last 30 years, though I am told it still lingers in backward country districts, in the north-western part of Germany, for example. The Prussian *Regulativ* requires that the beginner shall be brought so far as to be able to read alone in 12 months. In a six-class school, *i.e.*, where one teacher can give his whole time to the class, it will not require so long, but it is scarcely possible for the single master in a one-class village school to achieve so much.

Concentration of teaching is kept in view in the endeavour to make the reading book as much as possible the centre of the instruction given in the school. Neither in Prussia nor in any other state is one reading book prescribed for all the schools. Consequently there is a continual emulation among the different countries to produce the best reading book. An extraordinary amount of time and pains have been expended on the compilation

of a reading book for the elementary school: and I am assured by those who have tried that the difficulties of the task are scarcely to be credited by those who have not made the attempt. The idea which now guides the various compilers is that such a reading book ought to be a *volksbuch;* a book that will be relished in the cottages as a sort of portable encyclopædia of useful information; but this information must not be conveyed in a dry technical way, but put in a practical concrete form. The reading books most in favour in North Germany just now are the Silesian books, compiled on this principle. They cannot by any means be held to preclude further attempts, having the obvious faults of insinuating moral and religious lessons out of place, and of a feeble negative tone, owing to the exclusion of everything that could possibly give offence to the taste of the higher classes. In South Germany the Würtemberg reading book, drawn up by a committee of teachers expressly appointed for this purpose, is the favourite.

Complaints are made of the comparatively imperfect results attained in writing in the North German schools. This is a part of schooling which admits of being unmistakably tested. In the autumn of 1855 this test, applied to the year's levy of the *Landwehr*, gave the astounding result that only 12 per cent. of the recruits were able to write well. Such returns are now very generally made in the various states; and though I have not been able to procure them, I believe I shall be under the mark if I state the average of recruits unable to write as 50 per cent. on the whole. To whatever cause this defect is to be attributed, it certainly is not to want of skill in the best methods of teaching to write. I find no corresponding defect in the training of the masters in the seminaries; and the beauty and expression of the handwriting in the German script-hand acquired by the children in the higher schools is incapable of imitation in the Italian hand as written in England. It is most probably to be traced to the want of time to dedicate to it. In this branch, almost more than in any other, time for acquiring the mechanical facility of arm and hand is necessary. If the teaching kept pace with age, the children of each half-year would be in a different stage of progress, and want a different task. This, if attempted, is done by giving them more and more advanced slips of lithographed copy. Every schoolmaster knows, however, how long the copy system may go on, and what little effect may be produced. When, on the other hand, the copy is set by the master on the black-board, and the writing superintended throughout by him, preceded by instruction, followed by correction, the rate of progress can be very greatly accelerated; but this demands an amount of the master's time which can only be given in a six-class school, *i.e.*, where there is a separate master for each year's children. The same difficulty of want of time applies to the American method of Carstairs (*Tactschreiben*), as this sort of practice is entirely useless unless pursued long enough. This method is only beginning to become general, and opinions seem to be divided on its general efficacy, and on other points, such as whether it is useful only for beginners, or can be applied to correct bad habits of writing in scholars already mistaught.

2. In ciphering the practical end of the people's school vanishes, on the one hand, all the lessons in the theory of number which

were formerly given, and, on the other, avoids with equal care the working of problems by the mechanical methods of multiplication table. Mental arithmetic, not permitted as a separate exercise, as a useless fatigue of brain, is used to correct the mechanism of the slate, and is restricted to the system of enumeration as distinct from that of notation. Setting sums to work in abstract number is to be done as little as possible; in the lower class altogether avoided. The examples should be always in concrete number. This latter rule is deduced from the principle of concentration of teaching which is further carried through in the requirements, that the four operations shall not be taught as separate processes, each governed by its separate rule, but in their mutual connexion; nor fractions be made a distinct branch. The true division which is to separate the lower from the upper class in arithmetic is the magnitude of the quantities dealt with. Thus a child is carried through all the operations, fractional and unitarian, in the tens before it advances to the hundreds, and so on. Geometry, a favourite subject with the old masters, is not now admitted into the one-class school, though we find it sometimes taught in the upper classes of a six-class school in connexion with designing.

3. Separate hours for geography, history, and natural history, though not prohibited, are not encouraged in the Prussian schools; and special manuals for these subjects are not in use. What instruction can be given on such points is to be suggested by the reading book. Where, however, a teacher has himself a fondness for natural studies, or a peculiar facility of illustrating the subject, he would not be interfered with in devoting an occasional hour to a lesson, which is always a favourite one with the children. Where instruction is given in geography, it is now a settled maxim that this shall be in the form of knowledge of home (*heimathskunde*). Instead of commencing with the remote abstractions of mathematical geography, and then proceeding with distinct lessons on political and physical geography, the child sets out from that one spot of earth with which it is acquainted, and learns whatever time and opportunity allow of its position, relations, character, &c. This is the basis of reality upon which whatever can be afterwards learnt of the geography of Germany and of Europe is built.

4. Drawing is not often carried in the elementary schools of North Germany beyond the simplest linear free-hand drawing from flat examples. In the adult schools, however, this branch is assiduously cultivated, as it is one of the most popular; and not only single scholars but whole classes learn drawing from solid models, according to the method of Dupuis; shaded drawing of ornament from casts in relief, Between the schools of North and those of South Germany a marked difference prevails in this accomplishment. In the Bavarian schools, *e.g.*, the time given to elaborate penmanship, to map-drawing, ornamental designing, and the encouragement of taste, has nothing corresponding to it in Prussia, where the accomplishments and amenities of life are rigidly excluded from the people's school.

5. *Singing.*—In this branch the one object kept in view is practice of the voice. The children learn to sing from notes, or by the ear, indifferently, but the pieces performed are strictly limited to the simple church tunes and national airs. Variety is shunned, but

great pains are taken in practising what is learnt. The words must always be first well studied and explained, that the children may understand *what* they are singing. Besides what is sung in the course of devotion, and at other times, three hours per week must be devoted to practice, and the tune to be sung in church on Sunday practised in the week before.

These are the routine matters of instruction in the elementary school. It may strike some persons at the first sight of so narrow a lesson plan, that if this be all that is done in the Prussian school, the boast of its national system of education, so long heard throughout Europe, has very little foundation. The controversy on this very point, viz., the contents and method of the instruction to be given in the elementary school, is the leading feature in the present aspect of the North German schools. It meets the inquirer at every turn. Whatever school he may visit, or with whatever schoolman he may converse, the first thing he is made to feel is on which side in the dispute his new acquaintance is. Interesting as the question is in an educational point of view, it is beyond the scope of this memoir to enter upon it further than to state the fact. This confined area of teaching does not occur in a country which is in the first stage of educational experience, but is the result to which it has recurred after a long practical experiment in another direction. A person visiting the schools in North Germany at this moment has an opportunity of seeing the two systems in actual strife. But the victory is already decided; it is not merely where, as in Prussia or Hesse, the government has thrown its weight into the scale, but in the convictions of all the practical schoolmen that concentration and simplification are found as the acting principles of teaching. This part of the question has, as well as the religious, been so entangled with political parties as greatly to obscure its real merits. The movement in the new direction having been in every country favoured by a party in the state who were out of sympathy with education altogether, who placed themselves upon the same footing with respect to it as the Roman Catholic Church does, testing it entirely by its tendency to promote church interests, and under whose management the universities in Prussia have sunk to their present deplorable state, a prejudice is created at first against it, as if it were a movement inimical to the true interests of the population. As far as my observation has extended, I conclude that the reform in the direction of simplification and concentration is one to which an experience strictly educational has naturally led. I have heard repeatedly from some of the best national schoolmasters in Prussia, men not at all sharing the political views alluded to, that they had acted on the principles of the Third *Regulativ* for years before its publication, and that it would be impossible for them to act on any other.

Without entering into the history of this controversy, I sum up the result of my observations on the methods of secular teaching in the elementary schools in the following general remarks:—

1. The limitation of subjects taught and simplification of method now being pursued is not a barren deduction from abstract theory, but a practical reform forced on the school by the unfavourable results of an opposite method, and which is gradually making its way through the length and breadth of the land, independent of

any favour from particular governments or political parties. Perhaps the most plausible of all the proposals for teaching subjects in the elementary school is that of the supporters of industrial training; but this doctrine (*Erziehung zur Arbeit durch Arbeit*) was rejected in a full meeting of the General Schoolmasters' Association at Frankfurt in 1857; a body least of any of these societies under government influences. They are in other respects the best schools, not the worst, in which this system is most vigorously carried through.

The experience thus dearly purchased is not merely that many things must not be taught to children if they are to learn anything thoroughly, a very generally admitted truth, but it is distinctly this:—The whole school-time from 7 to 14, at the rate of (say) 20 hours per week, is not more than enough to secure to children the mastery over the general instruments of future cultivation, the organs of speech and song, the material of language, the relations of number, the pen and the pencil. The child is not to be taught to know (*wissen*), but to be able to do (*können*). Elementary education is not knowledge (*Wissenschaft*,) but capacities (*Fertigkeiten*). The subjects which have been turned out of the Prussian school have been so, not because they were useless or unfit for the child to learn, but because it has other things to acquire first. It may be highly desirable that children should have industrial training, as one urges, or artistic training, as another wishes; that it should learn instrumental music or physical science; but average boys and girls cannot learn these things without sacrificing the elementary skill which must be acquired in childhood, and cannot be properly acquired later. The efforts to restrict the elementary school to the acquisition of this skill have not been efforts to keep down the education of the masses, but to place it on the only solid foundation. The duties of the elementary school are not arbitrarily defined; they define themselves as soon as it is understood that schooling is to end at 14. This is the difference between the elementary school for the children of the labourer, artizan, &c., and for those of the *burger*, viz., that the one leaves school at 14, and the other does not. The one, therefore, must give all its time to obtaining a sure possession of the elementary capacities. The other can spare some of its time for the acquisition of knowledge before 14, because it will continue to practise reading, writing, &c. long after 14.

If this be admitted, it acquits the elementary school of neglect in not performing what is not its proper work. But it does not make it less necessary that that work should be performed. The weakness or incompleteness of the new movement is not that it has dismissed industrial, artistic, and a whole host of scholastic subjects from the elementary school, but that it has not adequately provided for their being taught elsewhere. There are adult schools (*fortbildungsanstalten*), and several of these, in great towns, do good work; but they are not universal; are neglected, if not discouraged, by the school administrations, and even as voluntary efforts are very insufficiently organized. Before the Prussian system can deserve the eulogies it sometimes obtains, it must provide a general machinery for taking up education where the elementary school leaves it. Without this, the recent reform in the primary schools will have done little good. Whenever this

supplementary provision for education shall be adequately made, there will be little harm done in relaxing compulsory attendance before 14 into a half-time system. The improvement school might then be made to take the pupil up at an earlier age than 14, as the last year in the one-class elementary school, instead of being the most valuable, is apt to be the least profitably used, from the fact of there being at present no proper continuation to it. The elementary school has, or ought to have, done most of its work before 14, but has not the means of beginning another work.

The strict limitation of subject applies in its strictness to the one-class village school only. The six-class town school, with a separate master for the children of each year, can, without the same danger, extend its curriculum a little. There are, further, various shades of higher schools in towns; what are called *erhobene Volksschule*, or the *vorschule*, preliminary class to a middle school, and other gradations, in which, if the parent is willing and able to pay an advanced fee, a more complete schooling may be obtained. It would, however, be desirable for this purpose that the obnoxious order of 1857 before alluded to, (see p. 192) should be cancelled, and the free choice of school left to the parents. The Third Prussian *Regulativ* it must be remembered is issued only for the one-class village school, and says nothing of the many class schools in towns or populous districts. If inspectors or superintendents have interfered to check a wider range of subject in these last, and have, as is complained, discouraged the master in attempts to bring the children forward, this is an abusive application of the *Regulativ*, and is probably one of the causes which have tended to create opposition to its sound principle. The dispiriting effect of the *Regulativ* itself upon the teacher has been also much complained of, and truly felt. It was no doubt mortifying to old and established masters to have all at once to lay aside some subjects which both themselves and their pupils especially relished, and which they had found most highly successful; natural science, or history; their exercises of thought and perception. It is not to be denied that the treatment of many deserving and exemplary masters by the administration, in bringing about its reform in the four years 1854–1858, was harsh and inconsiderate. It was in fact the triumph of a party, and was accompanied by much personal suffering to the vanquished. But now that this evil is arrested, for a time at least, the principle of the *Regulativ* is obtaining that general assent which it was sure to command with all practical teachers as soon as it ceased to be carried out as a party measure, in a spirit of hostility to the school. Where so much depends, as in school teaching, on the vigour, cheerfulness, and zeal of the individual teacher, anything that dispirits and depresses the consciousness of worth of himself and his work should of course be avoided. But then his self-estimate must not be based upon a frivolous vanity of lecturing in high subjects, but in a clear knowledge of the scope of an elementary school, and a sense that he is working it thoroughly as such.

2. In one point,—not its primary, but an important one,—it is admitted by all the practical men that the new ordinance has overshot its mark. This is in the excessive quantity of learning by rote which it imposes. It is not merely that to exact by a printed law the same quantity of learning-off from all children without

reference to their capacity, which in this respect differs most widely, is ridiculous, but the principle itself is erroneous. The labour of the Pestalozzian school to develope mental power by abstract and formal exercises of thinking was, if not erroneous, at least out of place between æt. 7 and 14. The child must have real information upon which to think, and this basis of solid fact must be inculcated and made its own property, not merely taught it. So far the new method receives universal acceptance. But to suppose that this material is insinuated into the mind by learning off masses of written words is now seen to be an error as unpractical as the other. Experience proves that the children have forgotten all these repetitions within a very short time of their leaving school. The new method did but exchange one exaggeration for another. The quantity of pages now to be committed to memory not only takes up much valuable time, but entirely overwhelms all the faculties of the understanding. But even this is far from the whole of the evil. The teaching in the school works upon school examinations. As so much of the child's time is taken up in learning off, a corresponding importance is assigned it at examination. Accordingly, examinations in Prussia are getting more and more mechanical. The local inspector considers it his first duty to ascertain if the hymns and catechism, the Bible extracts, and pieces out of the reading book, have been got by heart. The emulation turns upon who can recite most. There is hardly any inquiry into whether what has been so learnt is understood. It is consequently crammed up for the examination, and forgotten as soon as it is over. In Saxony, the Thuringian duchies, &c., the more lively imagination of the population seems to have protected them against this memorial drill, though in other respects the Government is very desirous of forcing on the other principles of the Prussian reform. This is a mistake, however, already beginning, even in Prussia, to be remedied. The official order is not, indeed, withdrawn, but its supporters begin to say that it has been mistakenly carried into execution, a well-known phrase for covering an error of the central legislative authority by casting the blame on its subordinates.

3. Another weak point in the German method lies in what constitutes its excellence. The teaching is all class teaching; the individual child is lost in the class, as the soldier is lost in his company. The power of class teaching to quicken and incite is so far beyond what can be got out of individual instruction, the whole result attained is so much greater, that it is apt to be thought that what the class produces must be the possession of each child who composes it. This fallacy is not attended to in the German schools, and is precisely most deceptive in the best. It is, indeed, the power of the aggregate class with which the teacher works all his effects. Even in point of discipline, it is not the terror of punishment, but the organization of the class, which tames the wild infant, coming, perhaps, from a home in which it has not acquired the least notion of law and order. Many children bring this with them, but with many it requires time before they understand what it is that is required of them in the submission of the will to the general purposes of the school. The same holds good of teaching. The contagion of example and emulation rouses the curiosity, commands the attention, and quickens the perceptions generally, both of

teachers and taught. I can convey no idea of the excitement of a catechetical lesson from a skilled master with a clever class in a German school. The master all animation, the children all eagerness. The questions rising one above the other by the gentlest gradation from the simple to the more complicated, evolving the subject with a methodical clearness equal to demonstration, question and answer passing so rapidly that it is as much as the spectator can do to keep up with it. The intellectual gratification to the children from the process is so great that I have seen them when the hour was ended entreat that the lesson might go on, instead of going out for their ten minutes play interval. The good effect of this class drill in attaching the children to school and to the teacher, in whetting their appetite for learning, is apparent enough; but as a measure of the mental cultivation each individual in the class is receiving, such a display is deceptive. The problem was really worked by the teacher, followed not by each child, but by the aggregate only. The children have seemed to solve difficulties really beyond their reach. But not only is the class, not the child, that which is taught in the Prussian school, but it is the class which the school councillor inspects in examination. It is the goodness or badness of classes which he tests; which he enters in his returns. This runs through the whole Prussian system; nor did I ever meet with any schoolman who thought it a defect, however he might be alive to other faults in that system. In the schools of Anhalt (Bernburg) a system has been introduced, pedantically called the "monothelitic," of which the principle is that the whole class moves, acts, and is regarded as a single individual with a single will.

This leads me to speak, in the last place, of that standing complaint against all German governments, — over-governing (*vielregieren*). It is not only English and American visitors who are aware of this canker in continental institutions, but many German public men, even those who administer these institutions, are quite alive to its practical inconveniences. Knowing myself how liable a foreigner is to misplace his criticism on this head, I shall do no more than mention one or two points, in which I believe I have observed pernicious effects from government interference, without venturing to condemn a bureaucratic system wholesale. 1. Till 1854 there was in Prussia no general law on education. Single matters were ruled from time to time by ministerial rescripts, valid alike for all the provinces; but with these exceptions, each department (*Regierungsbezirk*) followed its own school usages. The province of Prussia was the only province which had an educational law under which all the schools in the province were placed. The issue of the *Regulativen* of 1854 was the first invasion of this sound principle of Prussian administration. It regulates the matters to be taught in the school, and orders the same lessons for every one-class elementary school in the monarchy. It has been questioned if the executive did not exceed its powers in some of the matters handled in the third *Regulativ*. But allowing the legality, I believe the attempt to prescribe a uniform quantity and quality of lessons for all children alike, in provinces differing so widely in the cultivation and natural powers of the native population, to be indefensible. 2. Over and above the third *Regulativ*, the number of points ruled

by central or departmental authority, and on which, therefore, no variety of practice is allowed, is become very great, and is yearly increasing. On matters of external organization this procedure may be necessary, and can do no harm; but where the method of teaching and the matters taught are in question, the case is different. All the improvement and advance hitherto made in the art of teaching in Germany has been the result of experiment; of trial chequered with failure and success. For 50 years or more, theory and experience had been in unrestricted movement in the field of education, and had been working in harmony with the other influences of cultivation; but since 1848–9 government has stept in, not, as before, to organize the school, but to prescribe a particular method of teaching; to decide between two contending views of education, which is right. Whether or no the Prussian executive has chosen the right side in this conflict, is not here in question. Believing myself the principles of the third *Regulativ* to be in the main right, the question is, has their prevalence been furthered and permanently secured by their being stereotyped as part of the immoveable bureau machinery of Prussia and the other states which have followed her example? Is not all further experience, all improvement, all modification, all wholesome check from an opposing system, precluded, and a certain reaction prepared against useful truth? The free circulation of educational periodicals, in which the practical topics of the school were theoretically discussed, contributed in former days greatly to diffuse and keep alive an interest in the subject. Much absurdity was doubtless vented in this way, but the older numbers of many of these series contain, besides valuable papers, a true picture of the movements of scholastic opinion. Now, these are jealously watched by the Prussian school administration. Those which admit free discussion are prohibited. Besides issuing its own *Centralblatt*, the bureau has got some of the leading provincial magazines into the hands of servants of its own. The consequence is, that educational literature in Prussia is become sterile; and it is to the periodicals published in the smaller states (Bremen or Weimar) that we must look for any representation of what is being thought or said in Germany on the subject of elementary education. 8. The continual prohibition (*Verbot*) by authority of little things of no moment,—prohibition to attend such and such a teachers-association,—prohibition of one or another manual or reading book,—are multiplied to a degree which not only keep the schoolmasters in constant terror of transgressing some one of these many interdicts, but display a spirit of petty tyrannous interference which is unworthy of authority, and creates exasperation in the subordinates. 4. You encouraged me to "attempt to "form general opinions as to whether the general character of the "people appears to have been distinctly affected by an advance or "decline of education." I must confess that I cannot find any one of the national characteristics of any of the German populations which I can on reliable grounds trace to the methods or the matters taught in the schools. I have heard and read many such speculations; some very plausibly supported; but, tested by my own observation, all equally conjectural, and often contradictory. A shrewd and well informed traveller, writing in 1842, pronounced the Prussian educational system to be "a deception practised for

"the paltry political end of rearing the individual to be part and "parcel of a despotic system of government; of training him "to be either its instrument or its slave, according to his social "station." (Notes of a Traveller, by Sam. Laing, 1st series, p. 94.) This was in 1842, at the very time when we now hear it echoed throughout Germany by all the governments that the schoolmasters of the national schools were sowing the seeds of the outburst of insubordination and democracy which occurred six years later. There is one characteristic of the German people which is almost always referred to an educational cause. It will not be denied, I suppose, that the Germans generally, but especially the subjects of Prussia, Hanover, Brunswick, Mecklenburgh, Hesse, &c., are deficient in energy of character. This is not only observed by foreigners, but felt by the Germans themselves. It shows itself in a want of independence or self-reliance,—an inertness of will (*Trägheit*),—a sensitiveness to opinion,—a helplessness in novel situations,—an over-reverence for authority,—a declining of decided action,—a shrinking from straightforward language and specific judgments. As to the existence of this characteristic, I have scarcely met with a dissentient voice. I have also generally found it supposed it must have something to do with the bringing up; but I have heard it attributed to almost every different method of bringing up; to learning too great a variety of subjects, and none deeply (*Vielwisserei*); to going too profoundly into the bottom of one subject; to too severe discipline in the schools: to the want of discipline; to exercising the reasoning powers without furnishing the memory (*Geheimrath* Wiese); to overloading the memory without training the understanding (Diesterweg); to want of religion; to too much religion. Instead of advancing any conjecture of my own as to the point of connexion between this failure in character and the school system, I prefer to transcribe some remarks of Mr. Horace Mann, which will show why I have referred to the subject under the present head. He says:—

"A proverb has obtained currency in Prussia which explains the whole mystery of the relation between their schools and their life: 'The school is good; the world is bad.' The quiescence or torpidity of social life stifles the activity excited in the schoolroom. Whatever pernicious habits and customs exist in the community, act as antagonistic forces against the moral training of the teacher. The power of the government presses upon the partially developed faculties of the youth as with a mountain's weight. . . . When the children come out from the school, they have little use either for the faculties that have been developed, or for the knowledge that has been acquired. Their resources are not brought into demand; their powers are not roused and strengthened by exercise. Our common phrases, 'the active duties of life,'—'the responsibilities of citizenship,'—'the stage,'—'the career of action,'—'the obligations to posterity,' would be strange sounding words in a Prussian's ear. There government steps in to take care of the subject almost as much as the subject takes care of his cattle. The subject has no officers to choose; no inquiry into the character of candidates to make; no vote to give. He has no laws to enact or abolish. He has no questions about peace or war, finance, taxes, tariffs, post office, or internal improvement to decide or discuss.

He is not asked where a road shall be laid or a bridge shall be built, although in the one case he has to perform the labour, and in the other to supply the materials. His sovereign is born to him. The laws are made for him. In war his part is not to declare it, or to end it, but to fight it, and to pay for it. The tax-gatherer tells him how much he has to pay; the ecclesiastical authority plans a church which he must build; his spiritual guide prepares a confession of faith all ready for his signature. He is directed alike how he must obey his king and worship his God. Now, although there is a sleeping ocean in the bosom of every child that is born into the world, yet if no freshening, life-giving breeze ever sweeps across its surface, why should it not repose in dark stagnation for ever?" (Report of an Educational Tour, p. 200.)

The influence of the elementary school on national character and national civilization appears to me to have been estimated too highly in this discussion, and power for good and for evil ascribed to it which it does not possess. It is not till after 14, till he has come in contact with the world, with the social order as it is arranged for him, that the German youth acquires that torpor which is so much complained of, and that which was docility in the child developes into stupidity, submissiveness, and a mechanical routine existence. As soon as he leaves school, he ceases to learn or to have any motive for doing so. No one around him thinks of acquiring information except in his own pursuit (*Fach*). He is content to pursue with a sort of military precision the track of his profession and its adherent information. He is the creature of forms, and walks leisurely by rule. If the true form of civilization be political struggle, commercial enterprize, fortunes rapidly made and lost, ships, colonies, manufactures, European interests, then is the German Bauer, who is happy with his pipe, the society of his friends, the gossip of the town, and his few acres of land, not far advanced in civilization; but with this social difference the elementary school has little to do. It is a product, not a cause of civilization. The children learn to read, write, and cipher as a matter of course, just as they learn to talk, or to dress as neatly as they can afford. To be without the power of reading and writing would be to want one of the social comforts to which the whole population has been accustomed, and beyond this it does not calculate or aim.

PART III.

Of the Teacher; his Qualification and Training.

1. *Of the Examinations for the Office of Schoolmaster.*

In nearly all the German states the administration undertakes to test the fitness of the teacher for his office, and to educate him for it.

In no state can a person unprovided with a certificate of fitness be appointed master of or teach in any primary school, whether public or private. He obtains this certificate by passing an examination before a commission nominated for the purpose by government. This is not a recent institution anywhere. In Prussia it has been in use at least ever since the general regulations of 12th August 1763, if not earlier. These examinations are in number usually two.

1. First examination. This takes place at the time of entry upon the career, when the candidate has completed his preparation. For those candidates who have been trained in a seminary it takes place at the conclusion of the seminary course and is thence called *Entlassungsprüfung*. This is held once a year, usually before Easter, and is attended with great ceremony. It is conducted by the director and teachers of the college, each examining in his own subject. It is superintended by a government commissary, who is present throughout the whole of it, and who may take any part in the business of examining he pleases. In Prussia this commissary is the school councillor of the province, the councillor of the department in which the seminary is locally situated being present, but only as adjunct. This appears an exception to the administrative decision which was said in Part I. to be established throughout the kingdom of Prussia. According to that division the supervision of elementary schools belongs to the departmental council, while the provincial consistory has the management of the grammar, middle, and real schools. It is so far an exception that the seminary cannot be classed with those higher species of schools, as it only educates elementary masters. The arrangement had its origin in the circumstance that the seminary was intended to train masters for the whole province, and not for the department in which it happened to stand only. When the time shall arrive, and it is fast approaching, in which each department shall have its own seminary, the reason of the present arrangement will cease. In the department of Merseburg at present the departmental councillor examines the seminary, the higher schools in the province of Saxony being so numerous as to require the whole time of the provincial councillor. But other persons not trained in a seminary are not excluded from becoming teachers. The same commission who examine the seminarists are ready to examine all other candidates who present themselves at the same time. The exami-

nation of these candidates for the school office (*schulamtscandidaten;* nicknamed *wilde* = wildmen) is however separate from that of the departing seminarists. This latter class of candidates are required to bring, *a.* A medical certificate; *b.* A written outline of their previous life and occupations; *c.* Testimonials from their teacher; *d.* Testimonial from the pastor and civil officer of their parish of moral and religious qualification for office of schoolmaster. The examination of both classes of candidates turns upon certain prescribed matters of study in the seminaries (see below), and is partly on paper, partly oral, and includes the giving a trial lesson. Those who succeed in passing this first examination receive a certificate, of which there are three degrees of merit; No. 1. "very well qualified;" No. 2. "well qualified;" No. 3. "sufficiently qualified." As the classification is of great consequence to the future prospects of the candidates, the greatest care is taken to fix exactly the amount of performance which shall entitle to each of these grades respectively. The same lithographed scheme is supplied to all the commissions, divided into ten heads of examination. These heads are:

1. Religion.
2. German language.
3. Art of school keeping.
4. Knowledge of own country.
5. Arithmetic and geometry.
6. Natural knowledge.
7. Writing.
8. Drawing.
9. Singing, and theory of music.
10. Organ.

The performance of the candidates under each of these heads is valued; only the three predicates, "very good," "good," "sufficient," being employed in the valuation. Upon the aggregate of these separate valuations the grade of his certificate depends, in this way; no candidate can obtain a certificate No. 1. "very "good" who has not obtained a "very good" in at least the three subjects, religion, German language, and arithmetic, and so on. Possessing his certificate, the candidate is qualified for any appointment that may be offered him (*wahlfähig*). The only difference in the case of the non-seminarists is, that the departmental government may decline to state them qualified for appointment if there are seminarists still unprovided with places; but as the number of places to be filled has hitherto, in Prussia, always exceeded the number of candidates, this is only a distant contingency. Having his certificate, the successful candidate does not wait long for an appointment as assistant teacher. The departmental councillor takes him, as it were, from the hands of the provincial councillor, and fixes him at once in one of the vacant places in the department, of which he keeps the list; but he can only be placed as assistant or provisional teacher; he cannot yet be appointed "schoolmaster;" he must first serve in the department three years, and then pass a second examination. He is at liberty during the period to throw up his place, and quit the professions; but if he does so he must pay up, if a seminarist, the whole cost of his training in the seminary. He is not bound to take the first

place offered him by the departmental councillor, but if he repeats his refusal often, this is considered equivalent to renouncing the profession. Formerly a certificate No. 1. dispensed its holder from the second examination; but since 1854 this has no longer been the case, and the value of a first-class certificate has been thereby considerably diminished. During these three probationary years the assistant teacher is entirely at the disposal of the departmental government as to removal from one place to another within the department.

2. Not earlier than three and before the expiration of five years from the time of passing the first examination, the assistant teacher must present himself for his second. He is not to wait to receive notice of this, but to present himself on the day appointed for what is called the *abermalige Prüfung*, having first sent in his testimonials, including his first certificate, to the departmental councillor. This second examination takes place, like the first, in the seminary; only the provincial commissary has nothing to do with it; it is conducted by the departmental councillor, with the aid of the director and staff of the seminary. The provincial consistory, however, must be consulted as to the time of holding the examination, and the detailed protocol of the performances of each candidate must be communicated to it. The assistant teacher is held to be examined, not necessarily in the seminary in which he was trained, but in that which supplies the department in which he has been provisionally placed. This examination is not in practice severe. The examinee may be, but hardly ever is, sent back. The utmost that depends upon it is the good opinion of the authorities, which may affect his promotion. The examiners have the protocol of his first examination before them, and the teacher is expected to have made good such parts of his training as were there marked defective; he is not expected to have added to the extent of his knowledge, and is not examined in any subject except the art of school-keeping. The examination wholly turns upon professional skill, and how each matter ought to be handled in a class of any given age; never on the matters themselves. The candidate has generally an essay on some point of school management to write (in four hours), a paper of questions, and half an hour's *vivâ voce* examination. The method of conducting the latter is very precise. Each seminary teacher examines in his own department, and brings in a paper with as many questions on it as there are examinees. The question is so framed as to originate others, and to lead, if the examinee have the capacity, to a little dialogue between him and the examiner, and thus greater freedom is obtained than is suitable in the strictly catechetical form of the first examination. Neither of these examinations are public; but the superintendent and any of the clergy of the department have the right to be present, and a stranger may be introduced by the *Schulrath* or director.

The second examination has more the character of a review of conduct than a test of attainment. During the three years intervening between the first and the second, the assistant teacher is considered to be under the special guidance of the school councillor, who is to advise and encourage him in efforts for his own improvement. In Bavaria, the younger teacher, having passed his first ex-

amination, goes for a year to any school to which he may be ordered for "school practice," during which time he is termed *Schuldienst-expectant*, and is not placed as assistant till the commencement of his second year. These expectants are assembled every month at the house of some experienced teacher of the district nominated for the purpose, and made to write a statement and give oral account of what they have been doing in the past month, and to receive directions for the employment of the next. Here (in Bavaria) the probationary period is four years, but three is the more usual number.

It sometimes, but rarely, happens that a university graduate (to use the English term) in the faculty of theology, that is, who has passed before the consistory the examination *pro licentia*, wishes to qualify as teacher of an elementary school. In this case a *studirte Lehrer* is not submitted to the two examinations above described, but makes his "*colloquium pro rectoratu*." This is made in the seminary and before the same examiners, and consists in the same subjects as above. If the candidate passes it satisfactorily, he receives a certificate qualifying him for the appointment of rector of a full-class town elementary school. If less satisfactorily, he may receive a qualified certificate which enables him to become teacher or master of a common village school. Such university-bred candidates are in not much esteem, as only the feeblest candidates of theology, who are afraid of not passing the theological examiners, betake themselves to schooling as a resource. In former times, *i. e.*, before 1848, it was more common to find masters of elementary schools who had been at the university; one or two, who have since risen to eminence, among them Dr. Lauckhardt, now *schulrath* in Saxe-Weimar, began their career in this way. In the present state of the Prussian universities the elementary school loses nothing in not being supplied from this source. A reform of the mode of teaching in these institutions is one of the most pressing wants of the German educational system; but it may be doubted if such a reform could be successfully undertaken by governments, as it would most likely be directed, not to the lecture-room, where it is wanted, but to what is really their redeeming merit, the independent life of the students among themselves.

These two are the regular government examinations, which must be passed by all candidates who seek to become masters in primary schools. In some countries, and in special cases, patrons of schools, whether private or official, having to appoint to a vacant mastership, are authorized to institute further examination of the competitors who then offer themselves for the vacancy. Where the *commune* has the patronage of its school, government in many states controls its choice so far as to present to it a limited number, usually not more than three candidates, between whom the *commune* may institute a competitive examination before examiners appointed by itself. In Berlin, where the competition is wider, the city is not at liberty to nominate its own examiner; but the examination takes place before a permanent board, of which a government official, a member of the consistory of the province of Brandenburg, is president. The city, however, has the privilege of selecting its man from among the competitors, and presenting him to this board, who have only to pronounce on the competency of the presentee. Since

1851 a very stringent regulation has made the appointment or promotion of an elementary schoolmaster dependent on his political conduct and opinions. These rescripts of the late Minister of Instruction (22 January 1851, 12 June 1851,) have not been withdrawn, but they are probably not enforced now with the same rigour. On receiving a definitive appointment as master of a school, the person has to take, in Prussia, the oath of allegiance, and since 1850 the oath to the constitution. In Saxony, he has, in addition, to take what is called the *religionseid*, that is, an oath to the symbolical books of the Lutheran church. The subscription formerly exacted to the confession of Augsburg is now disused. In all states Roman Catholic schoolmasters take, on appointment, the *religionseid* to the articles of the Council of Trent. The words of the Saxon *religionseid* are,—

"You shall swear, . . . to remain faithful to the pure Evangelic doctrine as the same is contained in Holy Scripture, and expounded and set forth in the first unaltered Augsburg confession, and in Luther's catechism, and diligently and purely to teach the same."

2. *Of the Training of the Masters.*

The teachers of the elementary schools undergo a long and careful training in colleges set apart for this purpose. These are called *Schullehrerseminarien*, or shortly *Seminarien*. The Germans distinguish the *Seminar*, the *Proseminar*, and the *Nebenseminar*. I shall speak of these in order.

The seminaries are not all government establishments. There are two private seminaries in Saxony, one for males at Waldenburg, and another for females at Callnberg, near Lichtenstein. These owe their foundation to the private munificence of the Prince of Schönburg-Waldenburg. In Prussia there are one or two private seminaries; but these are exceptions, and in all the various states these institutions are managed by government, and are objects of its especial care. Every state, even the smallest, has at least one of its own, except, I think, Hamburg and Frankfort. A native of Frankfort who intends to be a schoolmaster goes to any seminary, in Germany to which he can get admittance, and has the option of making his examination either at the seminary or in Frankfort on his return before a commission appointed by the consistory. Bremen, which before used to get its supply of teachers from the neighbouring countries of Hanover and Oldenburg, has lately come to the determination of training its own masters; its requirement for its small territory is no less than eight a year.

In Prussia, as has been said, a small part of the annual supply of masters comes from other sources. The extension of the seminary system has not hitherto kept pace with the increase of the population, but it is now fast overtaking it. Great efforts have been made by the education ministry in the last ten years in building new and enlarging the old establishments. Since 1850 there have been erected in the province of Silesia three new seminaries at Münsterberg, Steinau, and Kreutzburg; in the province of Brandenburg, one at Oranienburg; in Saxony, three new, at

Elsterwerde, Osterburg, and Barby, and a fourth, Gardelegen, greatly enlarged. New buildings are also being erected upon a much larger scale for seminaries already existing at Neuwied on the Rhine, and Preuss Eylau in the province of Prussia. Besides all which considerable additions have been made to some of the older seminaries. Thus there are now more than sixty of these institutions. It is not the policy of the school administration to educate the whole annual supply, but to leave a small margin to be taken from persons brought up outside. The reasons for this are, that, should there suddenly occur from any cause a falling off in the regular demand, there would still be no glut of the market; and that there is a class of persons who make good schoolmasters, yet, for whom the discipline of the seminary would be unsuitable, and who would, in fact, not submit to it. The seminary, like the grammar and middle schools, is under the care of the provincial administration. But as these colleges are now so multiplied that every department will have one within its boundary, it is possible that this anomaly will cease, and that the training school for elementary masters, as well as the elementary school itself, will be superintended by the departmental authority.

Not only has the number of training schools been thus multiplied in Prussia, but their interior economy has been brought by degrees to great completeness. This is not meant of the goodness of the education given in them, but of the elaborate way in which all the minute details of it have been attended to, and are now carried out. The present seminary is the result of many years' experience. Not to speak of Stettin, said to have been established as far back as 1732, several of these seminaries date from the latter part of the last century, and seminary training has thus passed through all the vicissitudes which the school has seen during the last 70 or 80 years. Some of them have, besides, run through their own periods of celebrity and decline, and the names of Weissenfels and Bunzlau are landmarks in the history of German education, almost as much as those of Ifferten or Hofwyl. The buildings are not usually spacious or imposing, but partake of the parsimonious economy with which the school in Prussia is treated. Some of the newer edifices, Munsterberg, Oranienburg, &c., are more commodious, and *they* are at least clean, but they are not on a large scale, and barely contain the number of pupils for which they are intended, without a foot of room to spare. That at Neuzelle (near Frankfort-on-the-Oder), being located in the old Cistercian Abbey, has elbow-room enough, but the premises are not well maintained, and parts of them are occupied for other purposes. The traveller whose curiosity has been roused by all that he will hear of Weissenfels, under Director Harnisch, sees as he approaches that town on the railway, an imposing edifice, formerly the residence of the dukes of Saxe-Weissenfels, grandly commanding the town from a hill. He supposes that is the famous seminary of which he has heard so much. No; it is a barrack for cavalry; and he has great difficulty in finding his way to an obscure house in the suburbs where the training school and schools are huddled together on an unhealthy site, liable to inundation from the river. The whole budget of the elementary schools, including the seminaries, is little over 300,000 thalers; that of the army is 30,000,000 thalers.

The locality considered most favourable for the establishment of a seminary is a small town where the population is sufficient to supply good practising schools, and small enough not to interfere with the discipline. In all seminaries, now, the pupils are required to live in the premises. Exceptions to this rule are only allowed under peculiar circumstances. The Berlin seminary, *e.g.*, being only a provisional institute, has some out-pupils. In Saxony a pupil is allowed to lodge out only when he can live with his own family, and then he must have a dispensation to do so from the departmental bureau. The seminary at Bremen is the only one I have met with in which the pupils do not live. The whole cost of the seminary is borne by the central (provincial) government, which erects and maintains the fabric, supplies furniture and apparatus, pays the salaries of the officers and attendants. The seminarists pay their own board and washing. The former is calculated at a very moderate rate, varying slightly according to the average price of provisions in the locality. 50 thalers is considered a high rate; some are as low as 38 thalers, including fuel and light. This charge, however, is reckoned only for two meals, dinner and supper. It has been found advisable to make the seminary pupils find their own bread, as they are more careful of it. The cost of this is reckoned at 12 thalers a year. The diet at dinner and supper is of the most homely description, the rule being that it should not be of better quality than the future schoolmaster's income will enable him to enjoy. In the south (Bavaria and Würtemberg), where the necessaries of life are more abundant, it is considerably better than in Prussia, yet its cost there is calculated at 23 kreutzers per head per diem (=8*d.* or 9*d.*)

In no seminary I have visited did the number of pupils exceed 100; few were designed to accommodate so many, about 60 or 70 being the most usual number. What determines the number is, not only the demand of the district for masters, but the number which can be properly overlooked by one director: for the effect of the training school is considered to be owing in part only to the teaching, but more to the life which is led in it. And the present tone of the Prussian training school is that of rigid discipline, and the restraints of the cloister. The pupils of each year are taught separately, but they are mixed indiscriminately at table and in the families. These families are groups of six, eight, or ten, into which the whole seminary is divided, each group chumming together in a sitting-room. This is a point in which the Prussian seminary differs from those in South Germany, where the pupils have no place either to sit or to work in except the hall or the lecture rooms. The sort of barrack life to which this leads is found quite incompatible with that "*stilles wesen*" at which the Prussian training aims. Where they sit together they can only be treated in the mass by disciplinal rule, and the teacher is kept at a distance from the individual. With a small family group it is different; in their own sitting-room they are at home and accessible. They sleep in large dormitories, which, not being heated, are better ventilated than the sitting and class-rooms. The bedstead is supplied by the establishment; but each student brings his own bedding, the barbarous practice of sleeping between two feather beds not being yet relinquished, in spite of the universal condemnation of the

faculty. The students rise at 5 in summer; 5·30 in winter. At 6 are morning prayers, and preparation of lessons till 7. Then breakfast; a cup of milk and bread; and recreation till 8. 8–12 lessons. 12, dinner and recreation. 1–2 lessons again, though one or more of these afternoon hours is a music lesson. From 4–6 recreation. Supper is at 7 or 8, and the rest of the evening is music practising or preparation of lessons. On Sundays only may the pupils go beyond the garden without special leave, and on that day they have from 12 to 6 to go where they like. They attend the parish church on Sunday morning in charge of one of the masters. One afternoon in the week, generally Wednesday, a walk is taken by all the pupils together in care of one of the masters. In some seminaries (*e.g.* Neuwied) it has become customary to make an excursion of one or more days in duration, in which the master takes with him some select pupils of the third year. Nothing like petting the pupils is ever thought of, and their indulgences are very simple. In one seminary only (Erfurt) did I hear of the director asking any of his young men to his house in the evening, and rarely of leave being given to accept invitations in the town. The absolute poverty of the greater part of the students precludes them from purchased enjoyment. It is strictly forbidden to enter a beerhouse in the town, and a pupil caught smoking would be expelled on the spot. But, indeed, there is no idle time in a Prussian seminary for either principal or scholars. The young men have to wait on themselves; not only to make their own beds and keep their own rooms, but, the cooking excepted, they do all the house-work, taking it in turns week and week about. In the Bavarian seminaries (Altdorf and Schwabach), there is a staff of servants, and the seminarists are more or less attended on.

The duration of the seminary course, and consequently the number of its classes, varies in different countries. In Saxony, where it is longest, it is four years; but then the pupils enter at 16 or even 15. In Bavaria and Würtemberg it is only two years, and the pupils commence later. In the Prussian seminaries it is uniformly three years. Though at Cöpenick, on account of the great want of schoolmasters in the province, it is, provisionally, limited to two years, experience has shown that for the class from whom the schoolmasters are now drawn two years is not enough. The majority of them are so backward when admitted, that the whole of the first year is lost in bringing them into shape, and making them fit to begin to receive instruction. This does not apply to Würtemberg, Baden, or even to the whole of North Germany. Candidates are admitted to the seminary by examination, and as the number of applications exceeds the number of places to be filled by two or three times as many, the examination is in fact competitive. But it never happens that a well-qualified candidate is rejected; very often, in order to fill up the places, young men are taken who never ought to have been admitted at all. A candidate must be 18 at least, and though no maximum of age is specified which excludes, an applicant would scarcely be taken after 21, except under peculiar circumstances. In Saxony 25 is the limit. Besides the ordinary testimonials as to character, confirmation, &c., he must produce an agreement by his parent or guardian to pay the

cost of his board in the seminary for the period of three years. In the greater part of the seminaries are free *bourses* or exhibitions, which can be given to deserving students to help out their own resources, which are mostly extremely narrow. The examination for admission is of the simplest kind, and requires little more than would have been acquired at a good elementary school, except, perhaps, in music and in what must be committed to memory. He is expected to have by heart Luther's catechism (*resp.* the Heidelberg), the gospels for the church year, about 20 psalms from the Bible, and 50 hymns from the Hymnal, besides a large collection of the principal doctrinal texts from the Old and New Testaments. This is now considered the most important part of the examination, and correct verbal repetition is rigidly exacted.

The instruction given in the seminary may be said, in general, to be thus distributed over the three years: The first year is occupied in bringing the pupil within the scope of the influences of the place, and making him feel what it is he is wanted to be and to become; the second year he goes over more thoroughly the ground he has already travelled at school; in the third, he is practised in the model school, and has lessons in school management. The religious instruction runs on through the whole time the same, as not being so much a branch of teaching as a permanent influence. The following Table shows the distribution of the subjects of instruction over the week, as now followed in the seminary at Münsterberg (Silesia).

SUBJECT.	Students of		
	1st Year.	2d Year.	3d Year.
	Hours per Week.	Hours per Week.	Hours per Week.
School management	2	2	2
Religious	6	6	3
Language	5	3	3
History	—	2	2
Geography	2	2	—
Natural knowledge	2	2	2
Arithmetic	3	3	1
Writing	2	1	—
Drawing	2	1	—
Singing	2	2	2
Theory of music, and teaching it	1	2	1
Violin	1	1	1
Piano	1	—	—
Organ	—	1	1
Hours per Week	28	28	18

The students of the third year have a smaller allowance of lessons, as they have a larger share of the teaching in the practising school. The hours set down for music only show the lessons given; not the number of hours practised.

This amount of instruction is given by four teachers, including

the director, upon whom the work falls in the following proportions:—

	Hours per Week.
Director	18
Head teacher	22
Music teacher	23
Fourth teacher	19

These hours do not include the superintendence of the practising school, and of the practising lessons given in it by the pupils of the seminary; the correction of exercises; the conduct of missionary and other devotional hours; the gymnastic and swimming exercises; the instruction in gardening. These duties are also divided among the teachers.

In the Prussian seminaries the practising school is the point round which the whole of the instruction centres. These schools are not model schools, either in construction or arrangement. The seminary generally has to take for its purpose the school which is there. Only in some cases where the seminary is combined with an orphan establishment has it got a school of its own, and entirely under the control of the seminary director. This last is found to be an indispensable condition, and there is generally little difficulty in making that arrangement with the *commune* who surrender their right of oversight, and get their school in return taught for nothing. I heard of one instance (at Erfurt) where the municipality resisted this alienation of the rights of the local inspector and board of management, though they were willing to allow the students of the seminary to teach. In some favoured places the seminary has the use as well of a six-class as of a one-class school; and it is wished that this could be arranged everywhere, as school management cannot be properly taught without practice in both these descriptions of schools. In some countries it appeared to me that the practising school degenerated into merely using the seminarists to save teachers. In Prussia this is carefully guarded against; and though there is no normal master attached to the seminary, yet the director, having the entire control of the school, takes care to get a good master, and the lessons given by the seminarists are closely watched both by him and by the seminary teachers; as, at the same time, the school is the school of the town in which the seminary is situated, it must be treated in the ordinary way; the children are not merely anatomical subjects on whom the seminarist may try experiments. Before giving his lesson, the seminarist must prepare himself for it, by sketching out in his thoughts, if not on paper, the direction he intends to take. If the master finds him not getting on well he will often take it out of his hands, and conclude the hour himself, while the seminarist stands by. Before he is allowed to teach in the school, the seminarist, in his first and even his second year, must attend regularly so many hours a week in the school to hear the master or the older pupils teach. In the same way the trial lesson, which always forms a part of the final examination, is given in the presence of the whole class. For this lesson the examinee must prepare a written scheme, which he hands in to the examiner. At the end of half an hour the children are withdrawn, and the examiner calls on the class to make remarks on the performance. The examiner, as moderator, then concludes

with his own review, both of the performance and the criticisms offered on it. In the small seminary in Brunswick there is the peculiar usage, that the seminarist, after his course of instruction is completed, is not discharged, but continues to teach in the practising school, until he receives his nomination as assistant teacher in some school. In both the seminaries of Würtemberg, and in one of the two (Protestant) seminaries of Bavaria, Altdorf, the practising school, though the school of the town, is under the control of the rector of the seminary. At Schwabach, the other Bavarian seminary, where this is not the case, great inconvenience is found to arise. With some of the Prussian seminaries a deaf and dumb asylum is combined, and the seminarists receive instruction in the method of teaching the patients. This is also the case both at Altdorf and Schwabach.

As the matters taught in the lessons in the seminary are, with a small addition, the same as those taught in the elementary school, I will here only give the substance of what the Prussian *Regulativ* of 1 October 1854 prescribes as to how they shall be taught in the seminary.

1. School Management. "No systematic *pädagogik*, not even in a popular form, is to be taught in the seminary, but in its place shall be taught art of school management, for not more than two hours per week. This course may contain, in the first year, a simple picture of the Christian school in its first origin, and in its relation to family, church, and state; the most important names among the schoolmen since the Reformation may be pointed out, and their influence in forming the elementary school exhibited.

"In the second year, the objects and the arrangement of the elementary school may be explained; the proper principles of Christian instruction and discipline expounded.

"In the third year the pupils may be taught their duties as hereafter servants of the state and church,—the means of improving themselves after they leave the seminary,—but the greater part of their time this year will be taken up with preparing for the lessons in the practising school, and in endeavouring to gain a clear hold of the experiences they make in the same. The separate instruction of each teacher in the seminary is the only introduction which can be given to a good method, where this separate instruction is based on the principle of teaching in the seminary the same matter and in the same form as is required in the elementary school itself. Method, therefore, will no longer be taught as a separate branch, and as a part of 'school management' (*schulkunde*) will be only so far introduced that the connexion between the various parts of elementary teaching may be explained, and the relation in which each part stands to the objects of the school and to the education it is designed to give.

"Under the head Education nothing more is necessary to be taught to the elementary teacher than to bring together and explain the texts in Holy Scripture which touch on the subject; the doctrine of sin, of man's need of a Saviour, of the law of Divine Redemption and Sanctification, is a *pädagogik* which requires little elucidation from the sciences of human nature.

"Under the head School Education the principles of discipline and teaching should be more minutely gone into, but these lessons

should be given in strict connexion with the experience obtained by the scholar in the practising school.

2. RELIGION. "The religious instruction hitherto given in many seminaries under the title of 'Christian Doctrine' is henceforth to be termed in the lesson table "Catechism." Its object is to provide a direction and a firm footing for the individual religious confession of the pupil, through a clear and profound understanding of God's Word, upon the basis of the evangelical doctrines, teaching them through this understanding to know themselves, and their relation to the divine scheme for Salvation, and so laying the only true foundation for their whole Christian life.

"As this instruction is not one which the teacher has himself to reproduce in the course of his teaching in the elementary school, it is therefore not subject to the same limitations in all respects as the other portions of the seminary course, which do occur again in the elementary school. Immediately, however, the religious instruction received in the seminary ought to exert a powerful influence on the whole mental life of the teacher; and it is therefore of great importance that sure and abiding results of a Christian confession conformable with the dogmatic conceptions of the church should be attempted. The basis of this instruction must be of course the symbolical books of the Evangelical church, *i.e.*, the smaller catechism of Luther, or the Heidelberg catechism.

"The exposition necessary for the understanding this catechism will no longer be left to the individual seminary teacher; a manual must be employed for the purpose, which shall contain all that is necessary for a schoolmaster to know. By the advice of the Evangelical church council, we hereby order that the 'Barmen Catechism' be exclusively used in the Evangelical seminaries, and that the teacher be restricted to seeing that the pupils understand the same, and make it their own, without himself adding anything further to its substance.

"It is further requisite that the schoolmaster cherish a warm and lively sympathy with the church life of the present. To this end some knowledge of the past is requisite, but no regular chronological course of church history can be given in the seminary. It shall suffice that the pupils learn the most important facts and names in the method of biographical groups, especial reference being had to the Apostolical period to the Reformation, the present period, and the extension of the church by missionary enterprize, that the future schoolmaster may be thus qualified for a free and disinterested action in the fields both of the foreign and inner mission, the succour of the poor and the forsaken, and other charitable objects. This is an object which cannot be attained so much by lessons as by lending appropriate books, or reading passages out of them, by introducing the pupils to practical participation in the various mission enterprizes. It would be desirable that the seminaries, as such, should be enrolled as members of the mission unions.

"The next point to be attended to in the religious instruction in the seminary is to bring this instruction much more than hitherto into immediate relation to the religious instruction to be given in the elementary school. To this purpose there is required a

clear understanding of the duty of the elementary school in respect of the religious instruction it is called upon to give.

"First, it must be firmly established that systematic treatment of Christian doctrine, whether in the way of explanation of catechism, or independent expounding of dogmas or scripture texts, is not the province of the elementary teacher, but of the clergyman. The catechism lesson in the school is only a lesson preparatory to the confirmation preparation to be given by the pastor, and must be restricted to bringing the catechism in its verbal and material meaning before the understanding, and inculcating it in the memory of the children.

"Secondly, Scripture History must be treated as the field in which the elementary school has to solve the problem of founding and extending the Christian life of the youth committed to its charge. It must be pre-supposed that this instruction aims neither at moral applications nor at abstract dogmatic inferences, but at leading the children to the sure apprehension and the inward and faithful appropriation of the facts of God's treatment of His chosen people and of the whole human race, and thence to deduce for them the eternal ideas of the most important divine and human things. In this view, the whole course of the Biblical history must be gone through with the seminarist, who shall thus be brought to an immediate and intuitional knowledge of the fundamental ideas and truths, by living in and through each step and each personal relation of the religious life under the leading of God's Word.

"The future schoolmaster shall be required to be able to repeat without book each Scripture history in the form in which it is taught in the school. He shall be further led to handle each of these histories in detail, and with due reference to the general objects of Scripture teaching, in strict connexion with the order of the church's year, so that he may know how to establish a connexion of his school with the liturgical life, and make the children conscious participators in the same. From this time forth an indispensable condition of admission into the seminary will be an exact acquaintance with these histories as contained in such manuals as those of Zahn, Preuss, or Otto Schultz, and the ability to recite them by heart."

Here follow specific directions for reading the Bible and the gospels and epistles for the year; for learning texts and hymns. The section concludes thus:—

"Religious instruction conducted according to these principles will form teachers clearly aware of what they have to do, possessing within themselves a sufficient knowledge of the word, doctrine, and life of the Evangelic church; it will open to them the entrance upon a God-fearing life, in which they may find practical experience of the course by which God leads us from sin to justification by faith, which worketh by love. To this end the whole life in the seminary must be brought under the discipline of the Word and the Spirit; teachers and pupils alike must draw from the fountain of grace, and the community must exhibit a pattern of common Christian life.

3. LANGUAGE.—"The future teacher is sufficiently qualified to instruct in language and reading in the elementary school when he knows how to handle rightly the spelling and reading book. The

seminaries hitherto have too much neglected to teach a simple method of learning to read. Consequently, years have been spent in acquiring, perhaps very imperfectly, what might be attained in months, viz., the mechanical power of reading. To qualify the schoolmaster in this branch, neither theoretical instruction nor yet practice in the model school will alone suffice; but it will be necessary to take the seminarist in the lowest class through a course of practical lessons in all the details of teaching to read, which practice must be continued till the right method has been thoroughly mastered by each pupil.

"Again, in the use of the reading book, it is not enough to instruct the seminarist generally in the mode of interpreting; each portion and passage of the reading book authoritatively introduced into the schools of the province must be gone through in the way in which it has to be by them afterwards treated in the elementary school.

"In connexion with the reading book the pupils must be introduced to German grammar, keeping in view always that this is a subject which they will not have to teach again in the school.

"This is the reading course for the third class. In the two upper classes the object of this branch of instruction is, starting from the knowledge acquired in the lower class, to introduce the pupil to so much of the contents of the language as is necessary for the level of culture proper for an elementary teacher, and for life among the people. To acquire a good and correct intonation the best method is to penetrate the sense of what is read. The ability to read difficult passages well forms a tolerably correct measure for judging the amount of formal education possessed by the seminarist. Wackernagel's reading book may be taken, and a selection of pieces in prose and verse made from it, ascending from the easy to the more difficult, and as to their substance bearing on the arrangement of the other parts of the pupils' course. These passages must be worked over till they are thoroughly understood, and have become the learner's own property. Teacher and pupil have here the fittest opportunity to apply the art of concentration of teaching. Within the limits of these passages must be acquired the power of understanding and using his own language so far as it is requisite for the elementary master. without any theoretical lessons of etymology, prosody, lexicology, &c. The remaining contents of the reading book may be afterwards read in a more cursory way, without, however, neglecting to understand what is read, or to practise the reproduction of that which has been read.

"The written exercises for the lower and middle class must be set in connexion with the reading lesson; but in the upper class they may consist in independent reproduction of single parts out of other parts of the course, or in consideration of questions which concern the profession of teacher. Here also the pupil should learn the written forms of office and business which he may have afterwards occasion for.

"The students of each year must have a course of private reading pointed out to them, of which they shall be called on from time to time to give an account to the teacher. In the choice of books for this purpose, regard must be had, not merely to the student's own culture, but to the influence which he may hereafter

exercise beyond the limits of the school upon the character and morals of the people. Accordingly, the so-called classical literature (of Germany) must be prohibited from forming any part of this private course, and nothing must be admitted into it but what has a tendency to promote church life."

Here follows a list of permissible books:—

4. HISTORY and GEOGRAPHY.—"Both these branches shall start from a common point; that of our own country. General history is useless in the seminary, and the instruction shall be confined to German history, with especial regard to that of Prussia and the history of the province. It must be considered one of the first duties of the school teacher to inculcate in the rising generation a knowledge of the patriotic traditions and characters of the past and present, along with respect and love to the reigning family. This patriotic species of history should be brought into connexion with the life of the people, and their mode of thinking, for which purpose the days of patriotic commemoration are to be put prominently forward, and employed as points of departure. The student should learn the best specimens of popular poetry; both the words and tune; thus making their instruction both in language and music serviceable to that of patriotic history. The custom already adopted in some seminaries, of having special celebrations of memorial days for events in our national or ecclesiastical year, which are not already adopted into the church year, is hereby recommended for general imitation. The following days might be so distinguished: 18th January, 18th February, 18th and 25th June, 3d August, 15th, 18th, 31st October, and 10th November, leaving other days for particular provincial commemorations to be added. The commemoration may fitly consist in the execution of appropriate music: on the church days chaunting; adding explanations of the respective events commemorated.

[N.B.—It may be necessary to state the events for which these days are famous:—18th January 1701, Prussia become a kingdom; 18th February 1546, Luther died; 18th June 1815, Battle of Belle Alliance; 3d August 1770, Frederick William III. born; 15th October 1795, King's Birthday; 18th October 1813, Battle of Leipzig; 31st October 1517, Reformation; 10th November 1483, Luther born.]

"As the instruction in history is confined to the two upper classes, so the instruction in geography shall be confined to the two lower classes."

[Then follows the programme of the geographical course.]

5. KNOWLEDGE OF NATURE.—"Natural history shall be taught in the first and second years' classes two hours per week; not in a strictly scientific way, or adopting any classification. The principal indigenous plants and animals shall be brought before the pupils, and described to them. In botany a foundation for further future study shall be laid. They shall be taught to distinguish the principal native minerals and rocks. A popular description of the human body shall be given. It is scarcely necessary to say that a necessary condition of this instruction is a religious disposition and tendency. The pupils ought to acquire a love for nature and natural occupations. A practical direction, too, may be given

to this branch of instruction by constant reference to gardening, agriculture, industry, and trade. In the third year the students may advance to natural philosophy, which shall always be treated in an experimental way, without mathematical formulæ; the common instruments, machines, and mechanical powers may be explained to them, with the phenomena of heat, electricity, and magnetism.

6. ARITHMETIC AND GEOMETRY.—"The latter is limited to acquaintance with the principal geometrical figures, plane and solid, their properties and modes of measuring them, without any scientific method or calculus. Arithmetical operations with three places of figures are to be practised as in the elementary school; see below, p. 234. For leave to go into the higher parts of arithmetic, proportion, decimals, extraction of roots, not for application in the school, but for their own improvement, application may be made to the provincial government.

7. "WRITING is to be taught with an especial view to acquiring a plain and flowing hand, and, secondly, to learning how to set clear copies of single letters and strokes in proper succession for the school. The copies executed by the pupils are to be at once exercises in caligraphy, and an intellectual discipline. The method of teaching to write is to be learnt along with the practice in writing.

8. "DRAWING in the seminary must not go beyond introductory lessons in the linear representation of simple objects.

9. "MUSIC is cultivated in the seminary for moral and church objects. The art is never to be regarded as its own end. The field of instruction here is one of deep and earnest moral purpose; in great measure a sacred purpose. The seminary has to form, not only the teacher of singing for the school, but the organist and the precentor for the church."

[Special directions for instruction on violin, organ, piano, and in vocal music.]

10. GYMNASTIC.

11. GARDENING.—"Instruction in gardening, cultivation of fruit-trees, silk, &c., shall be given, or some part of it, in every seminary; but local opportunities will determine their character."

The above is the substance, very greatly compressed, of a document even more than usually involved in vague and abstract language. It relates only to the three years' course in the seminary, and one of its main objects is to restrict the variety and ambitiousness of the previous system. How far even the limited course here prescribed can be carried out depends necessarily on how far the young men at their admission to the seminary are qualified to commence the course here described. As I have already said, the greater part of them come so raw and uncultivated that they require the greater part of the first year to make them fit to begin their training. On every side in Prussia are heard complaints of the want of preparation on the part of the *präparanden*, as they are called, before their entry at the seminary. Yet these youths have all had the advantages of the elementary school, generally a six-class school, up to 14, and have since that time been professing to prepare themselves specially for entrance at the seminary. As they

cannot enter the seminary till 18 (in Prussia), and as the seminary professes to make very little addition to the matters taught in the elementary school, but mainly to practise and fix what has been there learnt, it must excite our wonder, what have these youths been doing in the interval between leaving school and applying for admission at the seminary, that they come so ill prepared?

3. *Of the Training preparatory to the Seminary.*

Two different systems of preparation for the seminary are in use. In Saxony each seminary has its feeder, called *Proseminar*, attached to it, in which youths are received at 14, to be prepared for admission to the seminary. Though conducted by one of the seminary teachers, open to the inspection of the consistorial officer, and sometimes receiving a small subsidy from government, it is, however, a private establishment. The students are not always received into the teacher's house, but lodge in the town. In Prussia these pro-seminaries were formerly general, but they were considered to have failed, and had been nearly all broken up, with the exception of one at Weissenfels. The preparation of candidates had come into the hands of individual private tutors, sometimes clergymen, but usually schoolmasters, who received into their house two or three but sometimes many more pupils for training. The advantage of the *Proseminar* is, that more is learnt, as special masters are provided for each branch, which is particularly important in music. The requirement of the seminary in Saxony in music is so high, that a private tutor would seldom be able to give the instruction required. Its evils are, that the young man is too soon withdrawn from the influences of home. When the *präparand* is taken in hand by a clergyman or a schoolmaster, he is expected to live as one of the family, and must help in the house and the school, and is not on the footing of a pupil-boarder. Government (in Prussia) has, after a long struggle, by little and little, got the control over the *präparandenbildner*, as these private tutors are called. No one can now take *präparanden* without a licence, given after examination by the superintendent, who sends in a protocol of the results to the director of the seminary. It appears, however, as if the question was not finally settled in favour of private instruction, as the provincial government of Silesia is now on the point of establishing a *Proseminar* in connexion with its new seminary at Steinau. The fact is, that the inadequacy of preparation for the seminary is at this moment the great difficulty of the seminary system. These institutions are kept up at great cost and labour; they do not take youths till 18; and they can hardly keep pace with the demand for teachers; yet the candidates who apply for admission are in so backward a state as to be little able to receive the instruction given in them. The explanations offered me of this fact were diverse, and it appeared a problem even to those nearly interested. I found that it had been the fashion to lay the blame upon the pro-seminaries. But they were broken up, and the evil remained in full force. Another explanation occurred at first to myself. The elementary schoolmaster is under severe restraints as to conduct, very insufficiently paid, and exposed without defence

to the rebukes of a variety of superiors. There is nothing in the career to tempt men of ability, and much to deter men of independence of character, from entering it. I therefore supposed that only the dull and insensible youth of the neighbourhood would seek to enter the profession of schoolmaster. But I am assured by those who ought to know, that this is not the case, but that it is the quick child in the village school who is destined to become the schoolmaster. The partiality of the late ministry of instruction in granting licences as *präparandenbildner* from political considerations, and not from capacity to teach, is another reason suggested. A circular order issued by the departmental government of Breslau, 26 April 1859, seems inclined to find the cause in the segregation from the influences of society in which the *präparanden* spend their four years, conversing only with each other. It says:—

"We gladly believe that the *präparandenbildner*, as a body, devote themselves with zeal to the candidates committed to their guidance; but we are of opinion that they would in many cases achieve more favourable results if they were not content merely to have their pupils sitting upon the school-bench before them, but endeavoured, besides, in the way of free intercourse, to work upon them, and to stimulate their intellect; and we could wish that the *präparanden*, on their part, should take occasion to develope their own mental life by seeking the society of educated men in their own rank of life."

This, I think, is to the purpose. It touches one of the most deeply seated weaknesses of education in Germany, viz., the want of individual educating energy in the grown-up man. The teaching is excellent, and so far as pure understanding can act upon the child's understanding more can hardly be done than is done. But character alone can act upon character. There is no medium of communication between a Prussian official trainer, examined and re-examined, rebuked by the superintendent, revised and reported on by the *Consistorialrath*, and the young soul committed to his training. The schoolmaster who undertakes the training of three or four *präparanden* is so overburdened with work, and with the thought of how he shall satisfy his superiors, that he has not heart and leisure to talk or live or play with his pupils. He gives them their regular lesson, and sees most strictly to their conformity to the rules of the house; when he has done this he has done all he can do for his charge. He has himself no general knowledge, no public interests, no independent views, no self-relying spirit, and he can therefore communicate none to his pupil. Without this training of the character, the understanding goes to sleep. When we add to this the method of preparation now ordered by authority, that the examination for admission to the seminary turns wholly on the verbal repetition of a large mass of matter of a highly abstract kind, and which is professedly not understood by the candidates, we have probably a sufficient explanation of the complaint I have been considering. The deficient supply of schoolmasters has hitherto prevented the deterioration of quality from being remarked; now that the supply is nearly overtaking the demand, the inferiority, not only of the *präparanden*, but of the seminarists, must attract the attention of the Government.

4. *Of the recent Reform in the Seminary Training in Prussia.*

The principle which appears to govern that reform of the North German seminaries which has been accomplished in the last eight years, or is still in progress, may be best described by its contrast to that which it has supplanted. The aim of the seminaries in the last generation was less to train the future schoolmaster for the technical work of teaching children of from eight to fourteen to read, write, and cipher, than to give him a complete mental culture. The old seminary was a university on a small scale, and confined to a particular faculty, its science of *pädagogik*. It had some of the excellencies, and many of the defects, of the German university; it had its elevated, universal, super-professional aim, and breadth of culture; it had also its defects of method; its frittering of the matters taught into so many abstract branches, erected into sciences, and theoretically lectured upon, not taught. The old seminary teacher was a professor, who gave his courses of logic, *Pädagogik*, *Didactik*, *Methodik*, anthropology or psychology. The seminarists were students who sat listening to these lofty harangues, and writing out their *Heften* from them. A few among them caught from him a love of knowledge, and an undefined ambition for intellectual self-development; meanwhile the great mass of them comprehended little of all they heard, and went away in ignorance of the rudiments, while the technical qualifications for their future vocation were neglected by all. A master so turned out into life was not only not qualified, he was positively unfitted, for his duties. He found himself, with an unsatisfied intellectual craving, condemned to an inferior social position, to a starving salary, without prospect of promotion, and bound to a labour which he despised. Even if he liked teaching, his wish was to teach as he had been taught, and he began to lecture his children on natural science, on astronomy, on history or theology, or on the beauties of Schiller, according to his taste. His dissatisfaction with his own lot in life begot a political discontent. Though he dared not utter this, he felt it keenly. The agitations of 1848–9 were a "schoolmasters' revolution." It is not necessary to inquire here if this be true or not, it is sufficient that such a belief is generally entertained, at least among the governments, and the classes connected with them. The reaction against the old system was rapid in proportion to the imminence of the danger. This reaction was partly one of purely educational theory, partly one of political alarm. A sounder educational opinion proscribed at once the aim and the method hitherto pursued. The proper aim of the seminary was perceived to be, not to educate its pupils as men, but to train them as schoolmasters. The forming and development of the understanding were here entirely out of place. The whole scientific furniture of the old seminary was turned out of doors. *Pädagogik*, name and thing, were banished, and at most the practical management of a school (*Schulkunde*) was retained as a subject of lessons for one hour per week. Physics, the favourite branch of the old teachers, were to cease as science, and their place taken by *Heimathskunde*, or observation of the phenomena of our own neighbourhood. The vague and aimless "history," upon which so much time had been hitherto

wasted, was supplanted by the more manageable "history of our fatherland," *i.e.*, of Prussia in Prussian seminaries, of Saxony in the Saxon, &c. The "so-called classical literature" of Germany was absolutely prohibited, even for private reading, and in its place a select library, chiefly compilations of modern writers, was ordered for the seminary. Finally, learning by rote was to take the place of the formal exercise of the understanding; and instead of knowledge the object proposed to the student was the acquisition of the technical facilities which the children were to learn from him.

These were the educational principles of the reform; of the political principles involved it is not necessary that I should speak. It is as much in the interest of the schoolmasters themselves as in that of the existing social order that they should have learnt to know their own place in it. The spirit of independence, self-reliance, and intellectual ambition which the old seminary fostered made them not only dangerous to church and state, but unhappy in their confined sphere of life. The young teachers whom the seminaries are now turning out, as far as I have had opportunities of observing them, are of a very different temper. The official reports from all the departments concur in stating, in the words of that of Merseberg (March 1858), that "the former eagerness for emancipation on the part of the teachers has disappeared." The older teachers, if they retain the feeling, find it necessary to conceal it. A spirit of subordination, of contentment with their lot, and acquiescence in church authority, is now prevalent. His energy has perhaps gone with it, but at any rate his restlessness has disappeared.

This result has not been attained exclusively by repressive measures. Within the last few years great efforts have been made to improve the salaries of the teachers.

5. *Of the Nebenseminar.*

I met in Saxony with a particular offshoot of the training school which deserves attention. This is the bye-seminary (*Nebenseminar*) at Grimma. At a time when the number of young men ready to enter the career of schoolmaster was much less than at present the consistories were glad to allow older men, who wished to change their professions, to offer themselves as candidates at the examinations. These volunteers, though they often brought more zeal and earnestness to the work than the regularly trained seminarist, were generally very badly prepared. The same want of preparation made it impossible to admit them into seminaries, as they could not take a place or keep up with the younger competitors; besides which, the rigid discipline required for boys of æt. 16—20 was inapplicable to men of æt. 25—30, who had already entered life. The present director of the seminary at Grimma has met the necessity by establishing a bye-seminary for the preparation of such men from 20 to 30 years of age, who, having tried other pursuits, feel an inward vocation for the work of schoolmaster. The undertaking is a private one, and is only so far connected with the seminary that the seminary teachers give the instruction required, and the oversight of the whole is undertaken by himself. He obtained the permission of the Government to make the ex-

periment, collected private subscriptions, rented a house in the town, made the object known among his friends, and was able to open his new institution in June 1855 with nine pupils. The success was encouraging; the attempt attracted general attention; the ministry of education made a small annual grant (300 thlr.), private benefactors contributed liberally, and upwards of 20 zealous teachers have been already turned out. The number of those who have applied for admission has been much larger; but the director exercises all the care possible in the selection, aiming to obtain only such as feel a true vocation to the work. The peculiar danger which must always attend the experiment is, that men who have failed in other walks of life should take up with schoolmastering as a last resource; and the lowering the standard of attainment for admission necessarily facilitates the entrance of incapable subjects. The director endeavours to meet this contingency; by instituting careful inquiries as to character; by requiring from the applicant a written account of his own life and occupations; by conversation with him, to form some opinion as to his possessing "church sentiments, Christian zeal, and love for children."

Something similar is introduced into one or two departments in Prussia. A six-months' course has been opened at Cöpnick and at Neu Zelle, to which older persons (19 to 30) may be admitted. This is not—as it has sometimes been described—a back-door into the schoolmaster's life, as these persons will all have to pass the two examinations above (p. 244.) described. It is simply designed to give the non-seminarist candidates (*wilde*) an opportunity of sharing in the seminary instruction, and of helping them in their preparation for their examination. It is, besides, only a provisional measure, and will cease as soon as the new seminaries in Oranienburg and Driesen are opened.

6. *Of the further Improvement of the Teacher* (*Fortbildung*).

After the teacher has passed his second examination, and obtained a definitive appointment as master of a school, he is not to consider his professional education at an end, but to take such opportunities as offer of extending his practical knowledge.

1. *Conferences.*—Periodical meetings of the teachers are held in all the countries in Prussia; they are very systematically arranged, and conducted by the official superior. It is not optional on the part of a teacher to belong to one or not, or to choose to what conference he will belong; he belongs to that in which his school is classed, and is expected to attend its meetings. 1st, The Parochial conferences are meetings of all the elementary teachers of a parish, presided over by the pastor of the parish, and are held in the winter months only, about once a month: 2d, The District conferences are larger meetings of the teachers of several neighbouring parishes combined into a district, and are held in the summer months only,—about one in two months,—under the presidency of some pastor of the district nominated by the superintendent for this purpose: 3d, The General conferences are meetings of all the teachers in the circle, and are held twice in the year in alternate months with the district conferences, under the presidency of the superintendent: 4th, The collective

conference of the teachers of the department, held once a year under the superintendence of the *schulrath* of the department. In these conferences questions proposed beforehand by the Government are submitted to the meeting, and a paper on each subject read, on which remarks may be made. In the official reports of these general meetings the accounts of them read very satisfactorily; but this, I think, is scarcely borne out by the opinion of the teachers themselves. They are said to be very stiff and formal. The questions proposed are not really discussed, as no teacher would dare to question any principle or rule laid down in the *Regulativen*. Only the official persons speak, and the teachers seek any plausible excuse for absenting themselves, or attend because it is expected of them. Even in Würtemberg, where official etiquette is not so strait-laced as in Prussia, I am told that the teachers much prefer their own schoolmasters' union (*Volksschullehrerverein*) to the regular conferences. This union is a voluntary club, which has connected with it a mutual-aid-society for support of widows and orphans, and a singing club. It has one general annual meeting, and a monthly meeting in each neighbourhood. The existence of this association, in which the teachers really feel themselves a professional body, withdraws their interest still more from the *Conferenz*. In Prussia, where the government is excessively jealous of all private association, such a society is not allowed, and the Prussian teachers have been ordered not to join or attend the meetings of the general German schoolmasters' union. Out of Prussia, I was present at one such conference, where, though the school councillor presided, and the school director of the city was present, there appeared to me to be quite sufficient freedom of discussion on the questions for the day, and on private business a warmth and earnestness of debate which evidenced the independence of the speakers. The president, committee, and secretaries were elected by ballot at the meeting; and though the *Consistorialrath* occupied a prominent seat he did not preside, or attempt to dictate to the meeting, but when he spoke did so as a private member. He criticised what had been said by the preceding speaker without any reserve or formality, and was replied to with perfect respect, but without constraint. The two subjects for discussion were *Tactschreiben* and *Heimathskunde*. They were each introduced by an essay, and the discussion on the first was very thorough and methodical, and one from which a young teacher might learn a great deal. The second topic was cut short by the announcement of dinner, which concluded the day; a simple meal, at a very moderate cost, at which both the official dignitaries and the humblest village schoolmaster met without *gene*, and talked and joked without familiarity or awkwardness. 5. Lastly, there is the Seminary conference, in which all the teachers who live within six miles of a seminary meet in the seminary, under the presidency of the director. Besides the other purposes of a conference, this meeting is intended to keep alive the connexion between the schools and the seminary. Both objects are promoted by the usage that the seminary director shall inspect and report upon a certain number of schools in the department every year. He almost always chooses schools in which former

élèves of the seminary are established as masters. Indeed, in a very short time, when the seminary arrangements are perfected, there will be hardly any masters in the department who have not been brought up in the seminary, which by these inspecting tours of the director forms a sort of educational metropolis for the district.

2. *Book Societies.*—These unions exist in all the countries of Germany, but in all they are regulated entirely by government. The rules are made, the books are chosen, and the fines levied by government; and the superintendent in ex officio president. The book societies are strictly confessional. Even in Posen or other provinces where the population is mixed, the Catholics have their reading union apart from the Evangelical masters, and this, not by their own arrangement, but by government order. The books and periodicals may be chosen by the superintendent from a general list approved by the president of the province. Two newspapers are allowed, under the same approbation. Under this system it is scarcely possible for any book of mark or value to get into circulation. The periodicals allowed in the Prussian reading unions are only the provincial *Schulblätter*, feeble and one-sided local prints, in which no discussion is allowed; and as the schoolmaster's subscription to the reading-room is compulsory, and his poverty prevents him from buying books or taking in a journal, he is thus hopelessly isolated in a kind of official world, and has no means of knowing what is reallu being thought or done in the world without.

3. A repetition-course (*Nachhülfecursus*) has been sometimes attempted in the seminary for masters already placed, who might wish to deepen and extend their training. It has not, however, been generally adopted, not from want of applicants, but because it threw so much extra labour on the seminary staff, already sufficiently charged with work.

I have the honour to be,
My Lord Duke and Gentlemen,
Your obedient servant,
MARK PATTISON.

To the Commissioners
appointed to inquire into the
State of Popular Education in England.

REPORT

OF

PATRICK CUMIN, ESQ.

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Letter *of* Instructions *to* Patrick Cumin, Esq.

Education Commission, 17, Great Queen Street,
Sir, Westminster, S.W., November 25, 1859.

On the 14th instant the Education Commissioners adopted a resolution, "that an inquiry be made into the condition of such Charities as may be applicable to educational purposes," and that you should be requested to undertake it.

They have accordingly directed me to address to you the following instructions as to the nature of the duties which you will have to discharge.

With respect to the charities originally connected with education by the will of the founder, the principal points to which your attention should be directed are the following:—In a large proportion of cases the masters of endowed schools have practically a freehold in their office, and receive the income of the charity without reference to the amount of their exertions. It has been alleged that the result of this frequently is, that the master does not encourage, or even discourages, the attendance of scholars, and gives those who do attend as little instruction as possible. It is also stated that the utility of schools is frequently diminished by the terms of the foundation, which require that the instruction given shall be in the classical languages, or in other subjects ill adapted in the present condition of society for the class for which the schools are intended, or that the parents of the children to be instructed shall be resident within some specified district of unsuitable extent.

You will endeavour to ascertain in the case of the smaller educational charities, what facilities exist for combining them with other existing schools for the lower or middle classes in the neighbourhood; and as it is believed that in several cases they have been so combined, you will observe and report the means and course by which this has been effected.

It is further stated that the trustees of endowed schools have frequently little or no control over the management of the school or over the conduct of the master; that the office of trustee is sometimes considered as a mere burden; and that the appointment of the master is injuriously affected by this circumstance. There is also a want of inspection and visitation, as the constitution of the boards of trustees is frequently such as to oppose practical obstacles to the government of the school, even where they are invested with the necessary legal powers.

You will inquire into these allegations, and you will endeavour to ascertain what other influences affect the general efficiency and usefulness of these institutions.

Your attention will also be directed to foundations which were not originally connected with education, but which it might be desirable to apply to educational purposes. These are of very various descriptions. In some cases large sums are annually distributed

amongst the poor in doles; in others a large number of small sums which might be very useful if they could be consolidated and judiciously used, are either wasted in an entirely unprofitable manner, or are so employed as to be in effect means of relieving the ratepayers. Such foundations are said to have the effect of attracting disreputable persons to the places in which they exist, in order that they may be entitled to share in their distribution; and it is also alleged, that even when this is not the case, they tend to pauperize the inhabitants.

It is material to ascertain how and from what class of life the trustees are appointed, and how far they would be disposed to co-operate with the Charity Commissioners in appropriating the funds which they dispose of to purposes connected with popular education, where such a course would be just and expedient.

Your inquiries can be carried on beneficially only by the exercise of much tact and circumspection, and you will in particular bear in mind the fact, that though the inquiry would be altogether useless if you were to shrink from a full investigation of defects and abuses, the Commissioners are anxious to avoid giving unnecessary pain. It may be indispensable to refer to specific cases of abuse, but you will avoid entering further than is unavoidable into the details of personal misconduct.

By order of the Commissioners,

J. FITZJAMES STEPHEN,
Secretary.

To P. Cumin, Esq.

Report *of* Assistant Commissioner, Patrick Cumin, Esq., *on* Educational Charities.

Sir, London, July 1860.

Having now completed the inquiry which I was directed by the Education Commissioners to make "into the condition of such Charities as may be applicable to educational purposes," I beg leave to submit to them the results. In order to show the scope of my commission I have prefixed to this Report the letter of instructions with which I was furnished at the time of my appointment.

Although it has been calculated that the value of the whole property, real and personal, devoted to Charity in England and Wales, amounts to a sum of not less than 75 or 100 millions, the purposes to which this vast sum is dedicated are not very numerous. These purposes may be collected from the terms of the Statute of Charitable Uses, passed in the 43rd year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, A.D. 1601. They are as follows:—"For relief of aged, impotent, and poor people; for maintenance of sick and maimed soldiers and mariners, schools of learning, free schools, and scholars in universities; for repairs of bridges, ports, havens, causeways, churches, sea-banks, and highways; for education and preferment of orphans; for or towards relief, stock, or maintenance for houses of correction; for marriages of poor maids; for supportation, aid, and help of young tradesmen, handicraftsmen, and persons decayed; for relief or redemption of prisoners or captives; and for aid or ease of any poor inhabitants concerning payments of fifteens, setting out of soldiers, and other forces." More than two centuries and a half have elapsed since that statute was passed, but even at the present day these are still the purposes for which the larger proportion of charity ought, according to the original design of the founders to be applied. Many of these purposes, however, have become obsolete; change of circumstances, and particularly the fact that the object contemplated by the founder is accomplished in some other way, have rendered many of the endowments almost useless. Speaking generally, I think it will be found that at present the charitable funds are employed in one of the following ways: for almshouses, for education, for paying the clergy, for the benefit of the poor generally, or for supplying the poor specifically with bread, money, coals, or blankets, for paying apprenticeship fees, or for loans; and for the repair of churches, roads, and bridges.

Original object of charities, 43 Eliz.

Present object of charities.

But before proceeding further it may be well to discuss the value of the various charities in England and Wales. The only account of them which assumes to be in any degree complete is that contained in the reports of the late Charity Commissioners, originally appointed at the instigation of Lord Brougham. It certainly is the case that the present Charity Commissioners have annual accounts sent in to them of all charities, and from these

Value of charities.

accounts the present value of the charities might be collected. But it appears from the evidence of the Chief Commissioner that there is no statistical department in his office, and therefore these materials have neither been collected nor classified so as to be accessible for public purposes. Besides this valuable information which may be derived from accounts deposited at the Charity Commission, there are cases in which Charity Inspectors have made local inquiries, and drawn up special reports containing complete information as to the condition of the Charities to which they refer at the time of the inquiry. The results of these reports, however, are not digested, and remain in manuscript.

I am, therefore, compelled to rest satisfied with the income of the Charities as stated in the Digests, which form the concluding volumes of the old reports, and with the facts which I have been able to collect from perusing some of the manuscripts to which I have alluded. In addition to this I have availed myself of the results of certain calculations which have been made by persons who have written on the subject.

The whole number of Charities reported upon by the late Commissioners amounted to 28,840. They have been thus classified by Sir J. K. Shuttleworth:—

Charities, the income of which do not amount to £5 per annum,				13,331
Amounting to £5	and under	£10		4,641
„ 10	„	20		3,908
„ 20	„	30		1,866
„ 30	„	50		1,799
„ 50	„	100		1,540
„ 100	„	500		1,417
„ 500	„	1000		209
„ 1000	„	2000		73
„ 2000 and upwards				56
				28,840

Again, the income or annual value of all the Charities amounted to 1,209,395*l.*, but it is remarkable that the income of those under 10*l.* amounted to 58,147*l.* In the Appendix will be found a table constructed by Mr. Fearon, showing in detail the Charities classed according to the amount of their incomes.

Endowments Educational.

With respect to the endowments for education reported upon by the late Commissioners, they were as follows:—

Annual income of classical or grammar schools	£152,047
Annual income of schools not classical	141,385
Annual income of Charities given for or applied to education	19,112
	£312,544

For the Poor.

With respect to endowments dedicated, not to education, but to the poor, I find that the annual income amounts to 167,908*l.*, and it has been calculated by Mr. Hare, one of the Charity inspectors, that the endowments dedicated to apprenticeship amount to not less than 50,000*l.* a year.

Amidst the mass of figures with which this subject is encumbered, those just mentioned will be found convenient for reference in the following discussion. But it must be observed that the

value stated must be taken as a minimum. It is admitted that the income of the charities has enormously increased. According to the evidence of Mr. Peter Erle, the Chief Commissioner, "If you "were to take the whole amount of the educational endowments "reported upon, about one-fifth should be added to that amount of "income arising from the same sources." Besides which there are the new Charities, and those of which no report was made by the late Commissioners. It may be mentioned that according to the estimate made by an Edinburgh reviewer, which is adopted by Sir J. K. Shuttleworth, the value of all the property, real and personal, devoted to Charity amounted in 1846 to a sum of not less than 75 or 100 millions.

In order to present a succinct view of the charitable endowments, I have inserted the following tables. The first contains three columns; one states the amount of money which has been granted by Parliament towards education for each county during the last 26 years (1833-1859); another states the population of each county; the third states the annual income of *all* the Charities according to the concluding volume of the digest.* The second table contains a list of the *educational* charities, arranged according to counties under three heads. The fourth column of this table, being the sum total of the preceding three, represents the annual income devoted to education at the time when the late Commissioners made their report. The third table states in the first column the educational charities; in the second column the endowment for the poor; in the last column the sums granted in the year (1859) for each county by Parliament towards education. Tables.

TABLE 1.

Showing the SUMS granted by PARLIAMENT, from 1833 to 1859 inclusive, with POPULATION, and the ANNUAL INCOME of ALL CHARITIES.

County.	Amount of Grants for Education from Consolidated Fund from 1833 to 1859 (26 years).			Population, 1851.	Annual Income of Charities of every sort.		
ENGLAND.	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Bedford - - - -	18,388	11	8	124,478	13,720	15	6
Berks - - - -	26,329	2	3¼	170,065	21,392	5	5
Buckingham - - -	19,577	17	9	163,723	11,397	5	9
Cambridge - - -	28,918	16	1	185,405	16,163	5	9
Chester - - - -	103,449	19	1¾	455,725	11,631	19	8
Cornwall - - - -	44,566	15	9¼	355,558	3,251	11	2

* It is to be observed, that this third column includes not only the educational charities but all monies devoted to any species of charity. It must not therefore be supposed that I intend to institute any direct comparison between the first and the third column. But it was necessary to state the whole amount of the charities of every sort, in order to show the manner in which charitable endowments are distributed throughout the country. Further, it should be observed, that education is one of the most useful and least demoralising species of charity. And it is interesting to compare the amount furnished by Parliament to assist the poor in obtaining education for their children with the sums of money expended in every species of charity. To make the contrast as striking as possible the sums granted by Parliament during 26 years have been compared with the charity income for a single year.

TABLE 1—*continued.*

County.	Amount of Grants for Education from Consolidated Fund from 1833 to 1859 (26 years). £	s.	d.	Population, 1851.	Annual Income of Charities of every sort. £	s.	d.
Cumberland	28,305	15	4¾	195,492	3,428	3	2
Derby	48,289	4	1¼	296,084	15,260	17	3
Devon	73,730	14	6¼	567,098	28,716	7	7
Dorset	34,652	16	1¾	184,207	9,356	14	6
Durham	63,334	4	6¾	390,997	21,348	1	0
Essex	44,329	10	0¾	369,318	21,572	7	8
Gloucester	99,311	2	11¼	458,805	19,459	12	2
Hants	81,866	1	6	405,370	11,670	8	10
Hereford	17,337	14	4¾	115,489	12,902	2	0
Hertford	31,337	9	5	167,298	12,556	1	11
Huntingdon	8,560	4	8½	64,183	3,670	14	1
Kent	104,042	5	8½	615,766	39,392	9	3
Lancaster	386,539	7	5½	2,031,236	35,322	9	1
Leicester	32,761	19	4½	230,308	21,064	11	11
Lincoln	49,741	17	10	407,222	36,096	10	4
Middlesex	296,570	4	1¼	1,886,576	31,440	16	11
London:							
Royal Hospitals	-	-	-	-	128,763	15	5
Chartered Companies	-	-	-	-	85,685	18	8
Parochial Charities	-	-	-	-	38,703	8	6
Westminster	-	-	-	-	18,557	15	7
Monmouth	17,402	2	2¾	157,418	4,879	11	7
Norfolk	40,690	7	0½	442,714	37,243	9	11
Northampton	22,673	5	2	212,380	20,676	9	11
Northumberland	37,968	13	9½	303,568	6,290	4	2
Nottingham	33,478	8	8¾	270,427	16,172	8	11
Oxford	23,192	17	1½	170,439	13,945	12	1
Rutland	2,920	1	5	22,983	4,787	11	2
Salop	33,274	19	4¼	229,341	21,578	6	4
Somerset	71,692	17	4½	443,916	19,871	0	4
Bristol					18,589	18	2*
Stafford	117,466	15	7¾	608,716	20,392	19	10
Suffolk	43,181	4	6	337,215	28,948	13	5
Surrey	119,393	2	6½	683,082	37,685	16	2
Sussex	50,806	4	1¾	336,844	10,178	0	0
Coventry	71,085	5	8¼	475,013	10,416	4	7
Warwick					31,683	0	10
Westmoreland	5,758	11	9½	58,287	5,437	14	8
Wilts	51,760	2	2¼	254,221	16,662	17	3
Worcester	41,387	14	8	276,926	20,367	11	1
York	378,644	18	10½	1,797,995			
City and East Riding	-	-	-	-	23,270	16	10
North Riding	-	-	-	-	9,830	12	1
West Riding	-	-	-	-	52,775	18	4
WALES.							
Anglesey	10,093	14	2⅛	57,327	1,397	0	6
Brecon	5,324	14	11½	61,474	1,528	15	7
Caermarthen	14,464	1	1¾	110,632	1,088	1	7
Caernarvon	25,467	3	7	87,870	2,164	15	10
Cardigan	6,271	14	10¾	70,796	370	18	6
Denbigh	19,674	19	11½	92,583	4,361	5	2
Flint	16,037	16	1¾	68,156	1,270	8	2
Glamorgan	34,645	12	0	231,849	1,051	2	6
Merioneth	7,974	0	11¾	38,843	843	5	0
Montgomery	9,740	2	6½	67,335	1,582	1	8
Pembroke	17,676	0	10¼	94,140	1,782	11	10
Radnor	1,113	3	8	24,716	1,611	7	1

* It is to be observed that in the list of the Privy Council Bristol forms part of Gloucestershire.

TABLE 2.

Showing the AMOUNT of the EDUCATIONAL CHARITIES.

Name of County.	Income of Grammar School.			Income of Schools not classical.			Income of Charities given for or applied to Education.			Total.		
ENGLAND.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Bedford	616	0	0	1,106	8	6	263	4	4	1,985	12	10
Berks	431	3	10	4,188	7	11	612	17	2	5,232	8	11
Bucks	654	15	11	803	2	0	272	16	2	1,730	14	1
Cambridge	367	0	0	2,010	13	4	232	18	3	2,610	11	7
Chester	2,207	15	0	1,232	11	6	240	16	0	3,681	2	6
Cornwall	54	13	8	676	8	0	198	8	7	929	10	3
Cumberland	1,227	14	11	671	4	3	148	19	0	2,047	18	2
Derby	2,805	0	7	1,919	5	2	214	4	9	4,948	10	6
Devon	1,522	13	9	5,019	13	9	838	15	1	7,381	2	7
Dorset	1,458	14	2	1,218	8	0	117	0	0	2,794	2	2
Durham	685	1	7	832	8	8	219	17	10	1,737	8	1
Essex	3,937	4	8	2,872	2	5	682	9	10	7,491	16	11
Gloucester	2,357	16	6	3,759	17	9	784	1	8	6,901	15	11
Hereford	1,848	8	6	1,370	16	11	86	10	9	3,305	16	2
Hertford	1,123	18	1	1,377	7	11	309	13	7	2,815	19	7
Huntingdon	326	1	6	705	10	4	145	12	0	1,177	3	10
Kent	1,337	2	2	5,868	9	9	1,221	6	6	8,426	18	5
Lancaster	11,428	19	1	7,687	2	11	343	11	11	19,459	13	11
Leicester	3,469	17	6	1,577	17	9	383	19	7	5,431	14	10
Lincoln	6,325	13	9	5,080	8	6	558	11	8	11,964	13	11
London	49,241	19	0	7,104	14	9	1,134	12	5	57,481	6	2
Westminster	162	10	0	5,789	10	2	-	-	-	5,952	0	2
Middlesex	3,599	7	3	13,832	19	6	816	12	7	18,248	19	4
Monmouth	660	2	6	1,319	2	10	39	10	0	2,018	13	4
Norfolk	2,057	14	7	3,663	5	4	601	8	4	6,322	8	3
Northampton	1,263	7	5	2,867	3	6	613	11	11	4,744	2	10
Northumberland	1,086	5	2	1,457	1	3	51	8	6	2,594	14	11
Nottingham	1,495	7	10	1,841	5	9	417	9	6	3,761	3	1
Oxford	806	17	11	1,256	13	10	223	2	2	2,286	13	11
Rutland	1,290	0	0	218	12	1	49	17	6	1,538	9	7
Salop	4,251	15	7	2,529	8	4	224	7	3	7,005	11	2
Bristol	62	9	2	6,812	16	11	17	13	0	6,892	19	1
Somerset	1,761	7	7	2,567	5	3	449	2	3	4,777	15	1
Southampton	916	2	0	2,268	17	11	511	8	3	3,696	8	2
Stafford	4,469	18	4	2,960	4	0	461	15	9	6,991	18	1
Suffolk	1,388	11	11	2,032	9	0	1,009	4	9	4,430	5	8
Surrey	2,818	8	5	3,776	1	8	524	2	8	6,618	12	9
Sussex	775	1	2	3,023	19	3	356	17	6	4,155	19	11
Coventry - Warwick	6,301	5	9	6,119	13	2	696	15	4	13,117	14	3
Westmoreland	1,615	19	7	600	0	10	34	2	6	2,250	2	11
Wilts	412	16	6	1,487	12	5	324	12	2	2,225	1	1
Worcester	2,227	4	1	6,186	7	0	243	9	3	8,657	0	4
York: City of, and East Riding	1,847	17	4	1,673	18	8	748	12	2	4,270	8	2
North Riding	2,303	9	6	911	1	8	523	12	5	3,738	3	7
West Riding	10,748	12	5	6,015	11	3	865	14	6	17,629	18	2
WALES.												
Anglesey	447	15	0	45	10	0	46	3	6	539	8	6
Caernarvon	781	13	10	73	14	0	32	8	4	887	16	2
Denbigh	542	8	0	681	6	1	34	15	2	1,258	9	3
Flint	87	6	9	225	5	0	21	16	0	334	7	9
Merioneth	175	3	4	134	1	0	7	10	0	316	14	4
Montgomery	98	0	0	556	8	6	36	6	4	690	14	10
Brecon	56	9	4	162	13	10	35	0	0	254	3	2

TABLE 2—*continued.*

Name of County.	Income of Grammar School.	Income of Schools not classical.	Income of Charities given for or applied to Education.	Total.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Cardigan - -	258 18 6	35 0 0	12 0 0	305 18 6
Caermarthen -	20 0 0	355 13 1	21 8 0	397 1 1
Glamorgan -	170 0 0	287 14 10	38 4 0	495 18 10
Pembroke - -	170 4 8	269 18 6	18 18 0	459 1 2
Radnor - -	184 8 6	202 6 0	13 0 0	399 14 6
	GENERAL CHARITIES.			
	1,800 0 0	944 12 0	- - -	2,744 12 0
Total -	152,047 14 1	141,385 2 6	19,112 8 8	312,545 5 3

TABLE 3.

Showing the ANNUAL INCOME of EDUCATIONAL CHARITIES, of CHARITIES FOR THE POOR, and the SUM granted, 1859–60, towards EDUCATION by Parliament.

Name of County.	Educational Charities.	For the Poor.	Amount granted from Parliamentary Fund for Education during the Year 1859-60.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Bedford - - -	1,985 12 10	2,152 0 5	2,167 10 1½
Berks - - -	5,232 8 11	3,843 17 7	4,378 0 5½
Buckingham - -	1,730 14 1	3,075 1 10	3,190 16 7
Cambridge - - -	2,610 11 7	5,088 12 9	6,387 0 8½
Chester - - -	3,681 2 6	3,817 13 11	16,151 3 4½
Cornwall - - -	929 10 3	1,085 14 5	6,044 0 2½
Cumberland - -	2,047 18 2	559 17 7	4,865 12 2
Derby - - -	4,948 10 6	3,269 14 5	5,496 15 8½
Devon - - -	7,381 2 7	4,808 14 0	12,253 4 0½
Dorset - - -	2,794 2 2	1,592 13 10	6,494 3 4
Durham - - -	1,737 8 1	1,566 10 4	13,182 3 1
Essex - - -	7,491 16 11	5,317 2 7	20,595 15 2¾
Gloucester - - -	6,901 15 11	3,915 12 0	*17,769 1 4¼
Hants - - -	3,696 8 2	2,303 2 11	11,336 1 11¼
Hereford - - -	3,305 16 2	1,550 13 5	2,284 18 6¾
Hertford - - -	2,815 19 7	3,092 14 9	6,632 9 1½
Huntingdon - -	1,177 3 10	720 1 11	1,671 6 7¾
Kent - - -	8,426 18 5	7,672 4 7	18,576 14 9½
Lancaster - - -	19,459 13 11	8,680 10 10	55,091 17 6¼
Leicester - - -	5,431 14 10	2,710 3 4	6,809 6 2
Lincoln - - -	11,964 13 11	7,924 8 2	10,237 9 3¼
London - -	57,481 6 2	7,475 6 3	
Westminster - -	5,952 0 2	751 15 1	
Middlesex - -	18,248 19 4	6,024 7 8	48,201 3 11¾
Monmouth - - -	2,018 13 4	659 11 3	2,809 13 10¼
Norfolk - - -	6,322 8 3	10,256 17 9	5,019 1 7
Northampton - -	4,744 2 10	3,601 0 2	5,078 11 8¼
Northumberland - -	2,594 14 11	897 19 5	6,486 3 11½
Nottingham - -	3,761 3 1	1,795 12 3	5,167 5 9½
Oxford - - -	2,286 13 11	3,115 17 4	4,409 11 8
Rutland - - -	1,538 9 7	511 5 6	497 1 10
Salop - - -	7,005 11 2	3,377 11 8	5,383 9 0¾

TABLE 3—*continued.*

Name of County.	Educational Charities. £	s.	d.	For the Poor. £	s.	d.	Amount granted from Parliamentary Fund for Education during the Year 1859-60. £	s.	d.
*Bristol	6,892	19	1	1,212	2	9	12,166	15	5¾
Somerset	4,777	15	1	4,296	12	2			
Stafford	6,991	18	1	4,353	5	3	21,004	0	3¾
Suffolk	4,430	5	8	5,951	17	3	6,488	8	11½
Surrey	6,618	12	9	9,460	8	10	20,616	15	4¾
Sussex	4,155	19	11	1,657	4	1	9,018	4	9½
Coventry	13,117	14	3	848	17	11	10,960	17	10
Warwick				4,330	3	11			
Westmoreland	2,250	2	11	1,182	2	4	687	17	10½
Wilts	2,225	1	1	2,826	2	3	6,749	16	8½
Worcester	8,657	0	4	3,547	18	2	7,842	0	5
York, City of, and East Riding	4,270	8	2	3,170	0	0	56,696	7	11
North Riding	3,738	3	7	1,906	16	0			
West Riding	17,629	18	2	5,448	2	3			
WALES.									
Brecon	254	3	2	373	10	6	1,015	15	4¼
Cardigan	305	18	6	10	10	0	827	0	2
Caermarthen	397	1	1	214	11	7	2,230	9	0
Glamorgan	495	18	10	355	10	8	5,517	11	8½
Pembroke	459	1	2	240	9	8	2,155	5	0
Radnor	399	14	6	238	13	2	210	10	1½
Anglesey	539	8	6	250	9	6	1,238	17	7
Caernarvon	887	16	2	311	19	8	7,633	9	1¼
Denbigh	1,258	9	3	1,241	5	1	1,886	16	6¼
Flint	334	7	9	521	3	8	4,377	6	5¾
Merioneth	316	14	4	238	14	1	1,194	19	4
Montgomery	690	14	10	504	19	5	1,197	19	6¾
	312,545	5	3	167,908	0	1			

A glance at these tables will at once show the manner in which charitable endowments are distributed throughout the country. And this distribution, as might have been expected, corresponds with the distribution of pecuniary wealth at the time when the Charities were founded. In old cities, such as Bristol, Coventry, York, London, and Exeter, the number and value of the Charities are very large, whilst in other places close at hand, but infinitely more in need of them at the present time, they are almost nil.

Besides the Charities specifically devoted to education, the only one of which I have given a detailed county-list is the Charity for the Poor. The sums devoted to other charitable objects, such as loans and apprenticeship, have indeed been calculated, but no detailed list of them exists; fortunately, however, the Charities for the poor are the most important in this inquiry. If any endowments not expressly created for education are to be applied for that purpose, these must be among them. A table, therefore, which states both the sums total specifically dedicated to education, and the sums dedicated to the Poor represents the minimum amount of endowment, which may be assumed to be applicable to education.

* It is to be observed that in the list of the Privy Council Bristol forms part of Gloucester.

Sums granted for education by Parliament.

It will be observed, also, that the first and third tables contain a reference to the sums granted towards education from the Parliamentary Fund. In the first table, the whole sum granted during 26 years is stated; the third table sets forth the sum granted during the last year (1859). This reference may perhaps require explanation. It is to be remarked that the results of the Government system are ascertained—the number of children in the inspected schools, and the precise cost of their education. According to the last report (1859), there were 880,131 children in these schools; there were 6,222 certificated teachers, and 14,176 apprentices. Again, it is shown, by the same document, that the direct annual cost of educating a child in a school, under the present Government system, lies between 28*s.* and 30*s.* a year. This sum is made up partly of endowments, partly of voluntary subscriptions, partly of school fees, and partly of Government grants. It is, however, a most important fact that of the local or private sources of income, the sums of money derived from the school pence slightly exceed the sums derived from voluntary subscription. And it is stated by the Report "that the less eleemosynary (both "in appearance and fact) every school can be made the better, so "long as the means of ordinary labouring men are not exceeded."

Difficulty of obtaining information as to the number of children educated in endowed schools.

It would certainly have been interesting to compare the results attained by the inspected schools with those attained by the endowed schools which profess to educate the same class of children as attend the National and British schools. Local inquiries have indeed proved that the education furnished in the endowed schools is generally inferior to that furnished in the inspected schools. But besides this, it would have been interesting to ascertain whether the endowed schools educate as many children as they ought to educate, or, in other words, do work proportional to their means. For the purpose of solving this problem, I drew up a form to be transmitted to the various endowed schools throughout tha country; and if that form had been filled up only by a certain number of those whom it reached, the means of settling the question would have been obtained. As the yearly accounts of all charities, signed by some of the Trustees, are transmitted to the Charity Commissioners, the names and addresses of those who have the information sought are in their possession, and therefore it was proposed that the inquiry should be conducted through them. But I understand that the Commissioners consider the inquiry suggested impracticable. It is impossible, in their opinion, to ascertain with respect to the endowed schools, either the number of scholars distinguishing the foundation boys, who are free, from the day boys, who pay fees, or the proportion of the revenue spent upon educational purposes. I have therefore been obliged to content myself with the cases which have been reported upon by the Inspectors, and the details of which I have read.

Importance of comparing the sums granted by Parliament

Nevertheless, the comparison between the charitable endowments as stated in the digest and the sum contributed out of the Parliamentary Fund suggests important consequences. It is

well known that the demand for aid out of the Exchequer is annually increasing, and this increase has become the subject of serious concern to practical statesmen. At present the education grant does not reach a million, but it appears that if the supply of good education is to keep pace with the demand, it must before long amount to double this sum. More money therefore must be obtained for education, and the question is from what source it is to come. Now it is admitted that the value of charitable endowments has greatly increased since the time of their creation, whilst the purposes for which they were originally intended have greatly diminished. At the same time, some of those purposes have acquired additional importance, and amongst them education is perhaps the chief; in fact, it has become necessary to supplement the educational endowments by voluntary subscriptions and by grants of public money.

with the endowments.

The contrast between the amount of Government aid to education and of endowments is certainly striking. One year's income of the Middlesex charities, including London and Westminster, exceeds all the grants towards education in the same county during the last 26 years. Eighteen months income of the Bedford charities would have supplied all the grants towards education made to the same county during 26 years. In the wealthy county of Lancaster, which has received most money from the education grant, a sum in fact of 386,539*l.* within the last 26 years, it seems that, according to the digest, the charities amount to 35,222*l.* per annum. But large as the Government grant is, it would have been covered by applying to education less than half the annual income of the charities. Again in Wales, which is not richly endowed, the income of all the charities amount to about 19,000*l.* per annum. The endowments specially devoted to education may be 6,000*l.* a year, so that 12,000*l.* is distributed by way of doles, and to some few almshouses. Now I find that about 168,482*l.* has been granted towards the education of Wales by Parliament, and taking the average of 26 years this is equivalent to a grant of 6,480*l.* a year, a sum somewhat more than half the amount devoted to doles, apprenticeships, and almshouses.

It will surely be admitted that charitable endowments ought to be made as useful as possible to the largest number of persons; and that no contribution should be made out of the general taxes to aid institutions or to promote objects for the assistance or promotion of which ample funds already exist. If, then, it should appear that in the administration of the educational charities, persons are aided who ought not to be aided; if those who deserve some aid obtain more than they require; if the endowments educate a very much smaller number of children than they ought; and, lastly, if other endowments instead of relieving poverty, actually promote it,—it will surely become a serious question whether some change ought not to be made in the administration of charities—even to the extent of remodelling the trusts—which shall have the effect both of really benefiting the poor and of relieving the Exchequer.

Principles upon which charities ought to be administered.

In discussing questions of charity, I assume the principle that no one ought to receive assistance if he can assist himself, and that even if he does receive assistance, it must not exceed the amount really required. To act upon any other principle is to demoralise. There is nothing more sacred than the feeling of independence. Anything which induces men to lean upon others when they can support themselves, tends to destroy that feeling, and to weaken the whole character. No charity should be conferred on man or woman, unless some consideration is given for it. No doubt there are cases of meritorious servants disabled by old age, disease, or accident, who may be allowed to claim assistance on the ground of past services, or the visitation of God. But, generally speaking, the person benefited ought to do something to entitle himself to the benefit. The principle of the coal and clothing club rests upon sound common sense. "Do something for "yourself, and I will do something for you." It is the same in education. "Keep your child neat and tidy, keep him in clothes, "lodge, and feed him; insist upon his attending school, or pay a "small sum towards his education, and the rest shall be supplied "out of an endowment, or from some other source." But even this benefit, however small, ought to be confined to those who cannot procure it for themselves. To supply a child not only with education, but with lodging, food, or clothing, when his parent can supply any part of these things out of his own resources, is to relieve that parent from the obligation which nature has imposed upon him, and to deprive other parents of a benefit to which they are entitled. In a word, in administering charity, it is important, both to minimize the obligation conferred, and to maximize the number of persons benefited.

It may probably be objected that these principles are too vague for practice; that no definite rule is suggested by which in any particular case it can be determined whether the recipients of the charity are receiving too much or too little. On the contrary, as it seems to me, there is no practical difficulty. If it appears, for example, that within the very same district in which the charitable institution exists, and amongst persons of the very same rank of life as that of the parents and children placed on the foundation, there are multitudes who, with resources even less ample, manage to supply their children with some at least of the advantages derived from the endowment, there must be an excess of charitable aid, and this excess ought to be distributed amongst others who stand in need of it. Such a test as this is always at hand. And experience will readily determine the amount of aid which ought to be supplied. Upon these simple principles, it will always, I think, be possible to test the character of any particular charity, and to say whether it is useful or the contrary.

Division of the Subject.

I shall first consider those charities which were originally founded for educational purposes, and afterwards those which, not coming within that definition, may yet be usefully applied to that purpose.

1. Educational charities. These are of three sorts. There are schools in which children are taught, clothed, and lodged; in others the children are clothed and taught, but not lodged; in others they are merely taught. These various schools are of two sorts, classical and non-classical. The former sort supply an education befitting boys intended for the University, and to many of these, exhibitions and scholarships are attached for the purpose of enabling poor lads to live during their undergraduate career. Eton, Rugby, Shrewsbury, and the Charterhouse are specimens of this sort of school. The latter sort supply what is called a commercial education, reading, writing, arithmetic, modern languages, and in some cases Latin. Specimens of this description of school may be found in almost every town in England; and it may be observed that the scholars are generally of a lower class than those which attend the grammar schools. Besides the schools of two sorts, there are certain educational endowments, rentcharges, or the interest of money invested upon trust that it shall be applied to educate a certain number of children; this species of endowment may be found in almost every parish.

Educational Charities, three kinds.

(1) Schools classical.

(2) Schools not classical.

(3) Endowments attached to no school.

Now the question is, whether these educational endowments do as much to promote education as their amount might lead us to anticipate. There are, I think, certain facts which lead to an unfavourable conclusion.

Are the Educational endowments made as useful as they ought to be?

1. If the class of parents whose children receive the benefits of these endowments, in the way of gratuitous education, food or raiment, be examined, it will be found that it is very much the same as the class of parents who not only supply their offspring with the necessaries of life, but pay something towards their education. I have taken considerable pains to ascertain this point. I have questioned many schoolmasters, who have furnished me with lists of the occupation of the parents of their pupils; I have questioned trustees upon the subject; I have myself made an inspection of the children in endowed schools, and I am satisfied that, as a general rule, there is no difference whatever between the rank or circumstances of the parents of children at endowed schools and those at other schools. Most unquestionably there are in every town children, orphans utterly destitute, who would probably have to go into the workhouse unless there were some charitable foundations. There will always be some cases for which an absolutely gratuitous education is required; but the large majority of children on foundations are not of a class so extremely destitute. As a general rule, the parents of the children in endowed schools could contribute something towards their clothing and education, and therefore in schools where this provision is made, many families must be receiving more aid from charity than they require.

Reasons against.

Parents are aided in educating, clothing, and maintaining their children to a greater extent than is necessary.

The greatest of all the free boarding schools is *Christ's Hospital.* I have not been permitted by the authorities of that institution (as in other cases of the same description) to obtain any information either by inspecting the school, or by

examining the masters or the children. I have, therefore, had recourse to the elaborate report published by the late Commissioners, and to such other evidence upon the subject as I have been able to procure. According to the printed accounts for the year ending 31st December 1859, the sum received for the purposes of the hospital amounted to 63,930*l.* 7*s.* 10*d.*; and it may be useful here to recall the fact, that for the whole of Middlesex, with a population of 2,000,000, the sums granted towards education by Parliament during 1859-60 was 48,201*l.* According to the Digest, Christ's Hospital is intended for children, chiefly boys between the ages of seven and ten, "who have not "any adequate means of being educated and maintained." And it appears that out of the 63,930*l.*, a sum of 44,984*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* was expended in maintaining and educating 1,108 children—the average expenditure for each child being 40*l.* 12*s.* I have not been furnished with any list of the professions or circumstances of the parents, but I understand that they are very much the same as at the time of the former inquiry. At that time, complaint was made that children were admitted whose parents or friends had adequate means of maintaining and educating them, and who, therefore, could not be deemed to be proper objects of this charity. A return was therefore procured showing the trade or profession of the father, the number of the children in the family, and the income applicable to the support of every child who had been received into the hospital on the presentation of a governor during the five years from 1832 to 1836 inclusive. This return included all children presented on occasional or chance presentations, and the whole number amounted to 748, of which 36 were girls. The profession of the father was not stated when he was dead, but in the other cases it was as follows: — clergyman, clerk, tradesman, attorney, subordinate officer under Government, petty merchant, coach or cabriolet proprietor, dock master, auctioneer, warehouseman, broker, officers in army or navy, factor, amanuensis, teacher, schoolmaster, farmer, commercial traveller, supercargo, coal meter, surveyor, petty agent, smith, porter or messenger, bailiff, foreman or journeyman operative, artist, coachman, waterman, mariner, shipwright, shipowner, skipper, turnkey, guard of convicts, lodging or boarding-house keeper, mathematical instrument maker, surgeon's ditto, laceman, gardener, servant out of livery, (according to the 6th bye-law no child of a *livery* servant, except in special cases, is to be taken into the hospital on any account), quarter-master, adjutant, assistant overseer, rope-maker, assistant astronomer, parliamentary writer, engineer, medical or surgical practitioner, accountant, receiver, sealer of measures, sexton, printer, architect, paviour, crape maker, librarian, stock broker, mealman, professor of music.

Though the bye-laws state that no child shall be admitted on a governor's presentation, who is not qualified according to the general regulations of the hospital as to the admission of children, and although it must be certified that the candidates have no

adequate means of being educated and maintained, nevertheless, according to the report, there were three cases in which the income of the parents exceeded 400*l.* Moreover, it appeared that there were only 38 cases in the whole (*i.e.*, as I understand, out of 748 cases), in which an income was returned of less than 40*l.*

As the Commissioners observe, "the accuracy of the facts dis-"closed, depends entirely upon the veracity of the witnesses." The information is obtained from the parties who apply for presentations, and beyond examining them sometimes, further inquiry seldom takes place as to the accuracy of their statements.

The Commissioners express no opinion as to whether the class of persons who obtain nominations come within the definition of those "who have not any adequate means of being educated and "maintained." According to the view, which I adopt, it is of no importance whether such parents could or could not supply the whole amount required for such an education as Christ's Hospital affords. For, at all events, it is abundantly clear that the parents could contribute something towards the expense of their children's maintenance and education, and so far as they can, but do not contribute, so far there is a waste of the educational endowment.

Before leaving this subject, it should be observed that the presentations are not regarded by the governors or almoners as prizes to be won by the cleverest and most diligent of the children of poor parents. They are a mere exercise of patronage. Of the three classes into which the children are divided, some are presented by parishes, companies, or individuals under special gifts. It appears that there are no fewer than 91 of such gift-children constantly maintained and taught out of the hospital revenues. It is stated in the report that the children received on a gift-presentation are usually chosen from a lower grade of society than that to which those belong who are presented by governors; and that the hospital authorities have often to contend against a disposition on the part of parishes interested under donations to send mere parish paupers into the hospital. The children usually remain until 15. It has been often suggested that the presentations belonging to particular parishes should be considered as prizes for the best scholar in the parochial school. That change would be strictly analogous to what has been done at the great public schools; it would greatly stimulate education, and would get rid of the complaint preferred by the authorities of the hospital.

It is to be observed that out of the 44,984*l.*, the sum spent upon masters, ushers, mistresses, and librarians,—on education in fact,—is only 8,147*l.* 10*s.*, whilst a sum of 13,958*l.* 19*s.* 11*d.* is spent in provisions and stores, apparel, linen, bedding, shoes, leather, &c. If the parents or relations of the children are in a position only to clothe their children, it seems that a sum of not less that 5,104*l.* might be employed in educating a thousand more boys. But if the parents or relations are also capable of contributing towards the board of their children, as there is very little reason to doubt, the disadvantages of the present system become still more conspicuous.

As another illustration of this sort of useless expenditure, take the case of *Worrall's* or the *Red Coat* or *Orange* schools, in the parish of St. Luke's.

This school is situate in Cherrytree-alley, Baltic-street, and was founded in 1689. The total annual income is 443*l.* 4*s.*, and the master is said to be competent. The number of boys educated and clothed is 50. The subjects of instruction are reading, writing, and geography. The boys seem to be admitted as probationers, and then by the election of the trustees. The freedom is to poor boys born in the lordship of the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate. The master has 100*l.*; the clothing costs 100*l.*; after other expenses there is a surplus of 190*l.* a year. The costume is absurd; the coat is still red. The orange breeches, shoes, and hose of orange—a dress which procured the boys the soubriquet of "yellow hammers"—have been discontinued. Almost the only individual who considers the maintenance of this peculiarity important is the Rector. According to the Charity Inspector's Report, he thinks that any objection to this dress is overweighed "by its picturesque "appearance in church, and by the fact that it is a visible com- "memoration of a great event in national history." On the other hand, the better opinion seems to be that "the dress is obtru- "sive, that its adoption does violence to the feelings of the "boys and their parents, and is only forced upon them by "necessity, that it exposes the boys to the unnecessary humi- "liation of insult and ridicule, that it injures their sense of "self-respect, and that it is therefore not morally beneficial, but "rather the reverse." Again the schoolroom is very confined, and cannot contain a large number of children. "I am told also," says Mr. Hare, who inspected it, "that it is so near to the dwellings "of disreputable persons that disgusting language is frequently "heard through the party-wall which divides the school from the "next house."

If there were no want of educational funds these educational eccentricities might be pardonable. But the population of the three districts of St. Luke's amounted in 1851 to about 60,000. The incumbents of the district churches within the parish are without the pecuniary means effectively to arrest the progress of ignorance and vice. They are compelled to have recourse to the private benevolence of strangers to the parish, and to the Parliamentary grant. At the same time, in this very parish there is not only an actual surplus of money given specially for the promotion of education, lying absolutely idle, but the portion of the funds employed in education is clogged with absurd conditions. No boy can take advantage of the school without making himself ridiculous, and even if he brave the ridicule, his ears are contaminated during school hours by ribaldry and obscenity.

I myself visited this school, and I found it within a few yards of the Charterhouse schools, which have been built at a great expense by money supplied in large measure out of the Parliamentary grant, notwithstanding local means, which ought to have been ample. Nor is this all. It appeared that the children who

were clothed and educated gratuitously, were the children of persons earning from 1*l.* to 30*s.* a week, and that most of them had in fact attended the Charterhouse schools, and had paid 4*d.* or 6*d.* a week for schooling. It seems strange policy to withdraw children from excellent schools towards which they contribute, and to employ a valuable endowment in giving these very children a free education in a bad building and an absurd costume.

Grey Coat or Parochial School.

Again, take the case of the *Grey Coat or Parochial School* in the same parish, which was founded in the year 1698. The income seems to be 650*l.* or 700*l.* a year, of which 200*l.* are annual subscriptions. There are 100 boys and 100 girls, exclusive of those on Fuller's foundation.

They are clothed and educated, although it does not appear that there is anything about clothing in the original deed. The master has 100*l.* a year; the mistress 55*l.* The boys and girls are nominated by life governors and subscribers. The clothing costs 25*s.* for each child; the whole sum being 262*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.*

A sum of 36*l.* is paid for an anniversary dinner for schools.

The Inspector of Charities says: "I have had some conversation with the treasurer and others, being active trustees of the "charity, and they are sensible that much more good might be "effected by this school and the other endowed schools if there "could be a combination of the endowments for the purpose of "distributing this benefit over the whole of the elementary schools "of the parish, either in the shape of exhibitions or prizes or "otherwise, as may after sufficient consideration be determined "upon."

Trotman's School.

There is also *Trotman's free school* in the same parish with an income of 110*l.* At the time of Mr. Hare's visit there were 66 boys in attendance. Besides a residence the master has 80*l.* a year. The Haberdashers Company pays 8*l.* or 9*l.* for stationery. But not one farthing is contributed by the parents of the boys, though they occupy precisely the same rank as those who contribute largely to the school pence of the schools in the neighbourhood.

Fuller's charity.

To this I may add the case of *Fuller's* charity, in the same parish. The trusts of this charity are for the use of the children of the lordship part of the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate (now St. Luke's parish), which then were or thereafter should be brought up and educated in one of the public charity schools in the lordship in the principles of the Church of England, "in such manner as "the executors of the founder should direct or appoint." In the year 1854, when Mr. Hare the Inspector made his report, from which I have derived these facts, the net income of this charity was 112*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.*, and the result of this was that 24 boys were taught at *the parochial school*, which has just been described. The books and stationery cost 10*l.* 5*s.*, the clothing of the boys costs 53*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.*, and there is a surplus of 25*l.* or 30*l.* a year.

I shall presently describe more at large the wretched character of the district where these endowed schools are situated, the desperate efforts that have been made to supply them with other schools; but at present I confine myself to the fact that the boys and girls in the former are, if anything, superior in rank to the

boys and girls in the National schools, who are not clothed by their parents, but contribute many hundreds in school pence.

The result, therefore, of the endowed schools in St. Luke's parish is, that with an income of 1,365*l.*, and buildings, only 340 boys and girls are educated.

Exeter. Let us now proceed to Exeter. At the Blue School, which has an income of 500*l.*, there are 25 boarders on the foundation; but whilst the usher gets only 50*l.* a year, the clothing of the boys costs 57*l.* Again, at the Episcopal Schools, the income of which appears to be 694*l.* (including subscriptions), 160 boys and 120 girls are educated and clothed, but out of this a sum of no less than 320*l.* is spent in clothing the children in *blue of the old manufacture of Exeter.*

The education is entirely free. The attendance at the time of Mr. Hare's Report was irregular, but now, according to the Returns of the Privy Council, under whose inspection the school has been placed, appears to be good. Among Mr. Hare's remarks I find the following:—The late clerical superintendent communicated to the trustees his deliberate opinion that gratuitous education and the clothing of the children operated prejudicially, and would go far to account for the low moral tone which he had observed to prevail generally in the school under his charge. The parents came chiefly for the clothing, and so did the boys. The clothing consumes nearly half the income,—is not enjoined by the original foundation,—and leads to pauperizing the inhabitants. And some of the trustees, consisting of the parochial incumbents, declare that the rules of the institution require complete revision.

Bristol. In Queen Elizabeth's Hospital at Bristol, which has an income of some 6,000*l.* a year, and where 163 boys are clothed, educated, and maintained, I was told that the class of parents was not inferior to those who sent their children to parochial schools. In fact the parents are small tradesmen, mechanics, and labouring men, and there can be no doubt that the great majority of such parents could both clothe their children and pay something towards their education. Moreover, it is to be remembered that in the last 26 years Bristol has received between 20,000*l.* and 30,000*l.* from the Parliamentary grant, and that the number of schools now receiving aid amounts to 33.

Newbury. At Newbury there is an educational charity, the income of which amounts to 228*l.* 0*s.* 5*d.*, but of this the schoolmaster has 11*l.*

	£	s.	d.
The clothing of 13 boys costs - -	30	8	3
The boots - - - - - -	8	14	0
	£39	2	3

There seem to be no fees. Whilst this endowment is wasted in relieving the parents from discharging the duty they owe to their children, there are three schools at Newbury which derive aid from the Parliamentary grant.

Again, at Spalding, in Lincolnshire, where there is an evident demand for education, for there are two schools, one a National the other a British school, receiving Government aid; the Bluecoat school, with an income in 1853 of 251*l.* 11*s.* 7*d.*, educated only 40 boys and four girls, the master receiving 45*l.*, the schoolmistress 33*l.*, whilst the clothing cost no less than 116*l.* 8*s.* Probably many of these very children so clothed had attended the National or British school. In the same town, at the Petit school, out of an income of 185*l.*, a sum of 35*l.* is spent on clothing. Spalding.

At Plymouth Grey school, which is attended by the same class of boys who attend the National school, only 89 boys and girls are educated with an income of 299*l.*, of which 164*l.* are derived from endowment, and 112*l.* from the Parliamentary Grant, The endowment and school pence should be more than sufficient to educate the day scholars. Plymouth.

At Nottingham, the revenue of the Bluecoat school amounts to about 400*l.* a year. The scholars consist of 60 boys and 20 girls, and the course of instruction is the same as in the National school. The salaries of both master and mistress amount to 105*l.*, but the clothing costs 202*l.* Nottingham.

In the parish of All Hallows, Staining, there is a school charity, the funds of which were originally 1,000*l.*, which have since been nearly doubled. The income amounts to 64*l.* 10*s.*, which is employed in educating eight boys, and clothing them. As I am informed, nothing is said of clothing in the original foundation deed. The boys are elected by the vestry, and are chiefly of the class of small tradesmen and officekeepers,—certainly above the rank of those who attend National or British schools. More than 30*l.* is consumed in clothing, and 24*l.* in hiring a private schoolmaster to teach the eight boys. If the boys remain till 14, they are apprenticed at a premium of 10*l.* An allowance of 5*l.* is made to the rector for examining the boys, and a sum of 8*s.* *a year is given for pocket money.* All Hallows Staining.

At Boxford, Suffolk, there is a grammar school, the income of which is 43*l.* 15*s.* 3½*d.* The result is that eight children receive an English education gratis; and Mr. Martin says: "The foun- "dation, at present nearly useless, is wanted for a village school." This town has received aid from the Parliamentary Fund to the extent of more than 200*l.* since the year 1848. Suffolk.

At Canterbury the Bluecoat school, with an income of 385*l.* 8*s.*, educates and maintains 16 boys. According to Mr. Martin's statement, the educational charities of Canterbury amount to 1,091*l.* 2*s.* a year, whilst the boys taught number about 400. It may be convenient to add that the income of all the charities is 6,552*l.* 10*s.* 3*d.* a year, whilst at the same time four National schools and one British school receive aid from the Parliamentary grant. Amongst other things, this shows that whilst there are demands for education at Canterbury, and a want of means in those who attend the aided schools—plenty, therefore, of fit candidates for educational charities—the educational work done by these endowments is quite disproportioned to their amount. Canterbury.

Reading. At Reading, the income of the Bluecoat school is 1,081*l.* 14*s.* 9*d.* Mr. Martin says the regular number of scholars is 43, who are boarded, clothed, educated, and most of them apprenticed. They wear the same dress as the boys at Christ's Hospital. The intention of the founder, that 30 other boys should be taught besides those who are clothed and fed, is altogether neglected. He adds that the school might be made much more useful. It may be observed that in Reading no fewer than six schools (one of which is a British school) receive aid from Parliament.

Shrewsbury. At Shrewsbury the charities amount to 7,596*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.* per annum. The grammar school absorbs 2,346*l.* 15*s.* 1*d.*, but there remain 2,520*l.* applicable to hospitals, almshouses, and schools, &c., and 3,864*l.* applicable to the poor. The whole result in the way of education is represented by 130 children educated and clothed. At the same time there are no fewer than five schools receiving aid from Parliament.

Wakefield. At Wakefield, the charities of which amount to 3,206*l.*, per annum, the charity school obtains 150*l.*, with which 156 children are educated and wholly or partly clothed. But it is admitted that the school is in an unsatisfactory state, and complaints are made that the dress is ridiculous.

Twickenham. At Twickenham, where the clothes are conspicuous and grotesque, the boys who have them are the least regular and attentive. The trustees, it is said, are anxious to discontinue them.

Norwich. At Norwich, there is a boy's hospital which was founded for bringing up and teaching very poor children of Norwich. The net income amounts to 1,121*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.* The results of this are that 68 boys, who are nominated, are educated. Instead of the boys being maintained in the hospital, a sum of 10*l.* is paid to the parents, which in 1856 amounted to 677*l.* 10*s.* The clothing cost 54*l.* The apprenticeship fees cost 110*l.*, together with other items. But the master is supported by fees from the children.

Effect of nomination. The boys are admitted at nine, and it is a most remarkable fact, that many of them on being admitted *are unable to read; and this result is often caused by the expectation of admission into the hospital.* Nor is this a solitary instance; for I understand that even at Christ's hospital, boys are admitted who do not know their letters; and I may add that one of the trustees of Queen Elizabeth's Hospital, upon being shown some lithographed specimens of the performance of National school boys, declared that they were superior to those of the boys when admitted into that hospital. I was anxious to apply the same test at Christ's Hospital, but I have not been able to prevail upon the almoners to grant me the necessary permission. However, Appendix IX. to the late Commissioners' Report, seems to show that many of the boys were at that time behind boys of the same age in the ordinary parochial schools of the present time. I understand that one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of schools, a short time ago examined the Hertford branch of the hospital, but I am not aware what was the effect of that report. It seems therefore that this system of nominating children to be educated and clothed gratuitously

not only withdraws a large sum of money which might be employed more usefully, but positively discourages education. The parents naturally say, my boy will be taken care of when he enters the hospital, and therefore I will do nothing for him now. In the girls' hospital at Norwich it is the same, the net income of which is 687*l.*, the sum of 582*l.* was in 1856 paid to the parents, and 93*l.* were spent in clothing.

At the Bluecoat School, Wells, out of 420*l.* applicable to education, as much as 200*l.* is spent in apprenticeship and clothing. The clothing is not specially needed by the parents of the children to whom it is supplied, and it is the general opinion, even of those who are in favour of apprenticeship fees in other places, that the system does not work in that city. Nevertheless, this very Bluecoat School seems to receive Government aid. Wells.

In contrast to this state of things, I may mention the Bluecoat School at Hereford. The endowment is only 103*l.*, the voluntary subscriptions amount to 80*l.* But out of this, education is provided for 124 boys and 110 girls. The report from which I extract these facts thus proceeds:— Hereford.

The children used to be clothed, but the numbers were much fewer. The gentlemen connected with the school all agree that the school flourishes much better since the clothing has been abolished than it did before,—a matter, says Mr. Hare, which I think is well worthy of consideration with reference to many of the parish and ward schools in the city of London.

Again, at Buxton, Derbyshire, the school income is 90*l.* 8*s.* The salary of the master is 80*l.* In 1857, the average attendance was 116. Mr. Martin says, the scholars all pay, and the school has risen since this system was adopted. The children are well taught, and the numbers are increasing. Buxton.

These instances, I think, conclusively prove that a very considerable sum of money is spent in clothing and maintaining the children at endowed schools. Probably, it would be no exaggeration to say that as much is spent in these objects as in instruction. There are no doubt a certain number of children, whose parents and relatives are so poor as still to require some assistance in clothing and maintaining their offspring. But unless I am greatly misinformed these are the exceptions. The class of boys and girls in endowed schools is precisely the same as in the ordinary National and British schools—many of the children are of a superior rank; and as the parents and relations of the one are able to clothe and maintain their children, there is no reason why the relations of the other should not do likewise. At all events there is not the slightest reason to suppose that if the parents or friends of every child in an endowed school were called upon to contribute a certain sum towards its clothing and maintenance, any one in want would be excluded. At present it is unfortunately too true that the clothing is often more prized, and often worth more than the education.

Again, it is to be observed that, generally speaking, in endowed schools the education is absolutely free, though to this there are Evils of free education.

many exceptions. It may be admitted that none of the parents of children in these schools are so rich as to contribute fees large enough to cover the whole expense of the sort of education supplied. But making every allowance, it is impossible to deny that much larger sums might be extracted from the parents, not only without the slightest inconvenience to them, but with obvious benefit both to them and to the community. The inquiries made by the Assistant-Commissioners have clearly proved that gratuitous education is a mistake, even amongst the lowest classes. In the first place the school pence provide considerable pecuniary resources. Sir James Kay Shuttleworth calculated that out of 1,046,590*l.*, the whole cost of education supplied by religious communions in 1852, a sum of 413,044*l.* was supplied by the school pence, and, according to the last report of the Committee of Council, out of an expenditure of 632,323*l.* from local or private sources, the sum of 270,204*l.* was derived from the school pence, a sum slightly exceeding that derived from voluntary subscriptions, and five times that derived from endowment. In the next place, proofs are not wanting that the demand of school pence, and the withdrawal of the clothing, raise the tone of the school. Instances have been adduced of this result. And Mr. Hare, in answer to the question put by the Commission :—"In many cases the education is gratuitous; would it be advisable for the trustees to ask a payment?" answers "certainly in all cases." The reason is obvious. There is no respectable class of people in this country who like to solicit charity. If they can afford to pay, they prefer to do so. This is a feeling which ought to be carefully cultivated. Now, in these days education is so cheap and so good that it is within the reach of every member of the community, because the very poorest can almost always get the penny supplied. None but the most dissipated need be supplied with an education quite gratuitous. When a parent prefers a glass of gin to his child, it seldom happens that the child is very regular in attendance or much benefited by school-instruction. In confirmation of this it is singular that one of the gravest complaints against the endowed schools is that, however excellent the education, however admirable the masters, they do not always attract pupils. In some cases this arises from the fact that the education supplied is not the education wanted; but another cause scarcely less powerful is, that respectable parents do not like their children to associate with the boys to be found in endowed schools. It is the same with the endowed schools as with the ragged schools. The parents who are willing to accept a gratuitous education for their children either neglect them or underrate the value of education. Even some of the better class of parents take little trouble with their children until they enter the endowed schools upon the plea that they will be cared for in these institutions. The practical evils which result from this are numerous. Both at Bath and at Manchester I was assured that whilst the parents of all the poor boys could very well afford to pay for their schooling, very many of them would be much more benefited by attending the ordinary National

of British School than the Free Grammar Schools. Schools ought to be classified—some should be devoted to the mere elements, others to students advanced from the former class. Whereas at present highly-educated men are employed in teaching the alphabet gratuitously whilst the Parliament is spending money in the very same places in promoting elementary schools. Thus, at Manchester, the income of which amounts to 3,039*l.*, I was assured that the greatest difficulty was experienced in the lower grammar school, because parents demanded admittance for their children who did not know their letters, and took them away whenever they pleased. Besides which, the numbers of scholars are so great that the master cannot possibly teach them, and as no fees are paid there are no funds to furnish another master. In such circumstances it is impossible to maintain discipline or to do justice to those children who display diligence or attention. In order to the success of any school it is an essential condition that the children should come for the purpose of learning, and this condition it is impossible to secure unless the parents co-operate with the master, and the scholars are to some extent equal in knowledge. The disposition of the parents must be tested in some way, and the only way which has hitherto been found practicable is to insist upon some pecuniary payment in the shape of school pence. This simple expedient at once frees the school of its almsgiving character, and relieves the master from those children whose parents will not or cannot appreciate the value of education.

Conclusion.

The first means therefore of increasing the value of the endowed schools is to demand some contribution from the parents, and as far as possible to do away with clothing and maintaining the children. The sum of money thus obtained might be applied in extending the influence of the endowment.

Endowed Schools do not always supply the education wanted.

2. Even where there is an endowed school, it does not always supply the kind of education wanted. In ancient times a knowledge of Latin, and perhaps Greek, was considered essential to every educated man: but even in those days a knowledge of the English tongue was not considered superfluous. Unfortunately, however, Lord Eldon in the year 1805, laid down the principle in one case, that a grammar school was a school for teaching grammatically the learned languages, and that nothing else was to be introduced.* In that case the Master in Chancery to whom the cause had been referred, reported his approbation of adding to the establishment a German and French master, and a master for teaching algebra and mathematics. The schoolmaster objected to teach anything but Greek and Latin, and the Chancellor upheld the objection. The consequence was that except in case of a surplus income, or in case the master consented, no other subjects of instruction, except Greek and Latin, were admitted into grammar schools. It is abundantly clear that Lord Eldon was completely mistaken, and indeed, thirteen years afterwards, he acknowledged

The term "Grammar School."

* Attorney-General *v.* Whiteley, 11 Ves. 241.

his mistake. A grammar school does not mean a school in which only Greek and Latin are taught. Nevertheless the Court of Chancery adhered to its erroneous doctrines, which were curiously strengthened and confirmed by the 3 & 4 Vict. c. 77, passed in the year 1840. The result of this Act of Parliament is that if a master of a grammar school is once appointed, and no steps are taken within six months from the date of the vacancy to extend the scheme of education, beyond Greek and Latin, such extension cannot be forced upon him.

Mr. Fearon, in his pamphlet on the endowed charities, says upon this subject:—

"The proof that these provisions were little known is found in the numerous instances in which trustees of such schools have, after having appointed a new master, proposed to apply for a scheme, and have found that they were too late; and in the not less numerous cases in which awkward attempts have been made to obtain the object by requiring bonds of resignation, and special conditions on the appointment of the master, all being of very doubtful validity.

"In the case of an important school in an eastern county, some years since, the master of the Court of Chancery, on a reference, had approved of a scheme usefully extending the education to be given. The schoolmaster refused to accept it, or any scheme which should prescribe the teaching of anything beyond Latin and Greek. He continued to express his readiness to teach Latin and Greek, but no scholar came; the school was closed, and the buildings fell almost into ruins. There are many such cases, but those in which trustees, finding they could do nothing without the master's consent, have not made the attempt, are much more numerous.

"In a recent case, one of the Vice-Chancellors settled a scheme for a school in a large manufacturing town in the north of England. The schoolmaster, who had been appointed about two years, declined to accept the scheme; the Vice-Chancellor suspended the completion of it for a time, in order that the master might be induced to concur, but he refused to do so; and eventually, although with much reluctance, the order was made, with a provision that the head master should be at liberty to accept the scheme if he should see fit."*

These things deserve to be mentioned, because if the endowed schools do less educational work than they might, that result is not entirely due to the narrow-mindedness of the founders. But whatever may be the cause, it certainly is the fact, from all the evidence I can procure, that the number of pupils at the schools in question is not so large as it ought to be.

Midhurst. Thus at Midhurst with an income of 30*l.*, the school was held until the present year by a master who claimed to hold it as a

* The correspondence just published by order of Parliament, as to the Highleigh Prebendal Grammar School, illustrates the notions which some masters of endowed school entertain with respect to their duties.

grammar school, where he was required to teach only Latin and Greek. He actually had no scholars at all. At the same time I find that in this very town the national school received in 1855 170*l.* from the Parliamentary Grant.

At Warrington, the population of which is 23,651, there is a free grammar school, the income of which is 484*l.* In 1858, the boys educated were 35; but of these there was only one boy in the first and second class. According to the report of the Charity Inspector the master is discouraged, and he adds that here, as in the case of almost all manufacturing towns which he had examined, a school providing a commercial education which should embrace Latin, and nothing higher, would be likely to succeed better. At Warrington it appears that Parliament has contributed largely to no fewer than four schools. The particulars may be seen in the Appendix to the last Report of the Committee of Education. Warrington.

At Milton Abbas in Dorsetshire, the income of the free grammar school amounts to 199*l.* 10*s.* The site of the school was removed to Blandford, several miles, by an Act of Parliament, which I understand was promoted by Lord Milton. At the time of the inquiry there were 58 private pupils in the school, but no scholars on the foundation, which therefore appears to be useless. The boarders pay 40*l.* The foundation boys, when there are any, pay nothing for education, but 25*l.* on other accounts. Milton Abbas

At Pympton, in Devonshire, there is a grammar school, the income of which is 220*l.*; but there is frequently only a single pupil. According to the Inspector's report, the trustees, with the concurrence of the inhabitants of the district, desire a commercial education; at the same time, according to the last Report of the Committee of Council, the national school at Plympton receives aid from Government. Plympton.

At Wotton-under-Edge, in Gloucestershire, there is a free grammar school, the income of which is 536*l.* 11*s.* 9*d.* There are 10 foundation boys, each of whom is allowed 6*l.* Their gown and caps cost 15*l.* a year. The boys are nominated, but the applications do not exceed the vacancies. It appears that the sum spent on rates, taxes, commission for collecting rents, keeping accounts, *et cætera*, amounted in one year to 79*l.* 18*s.* 11½*d.* Out of the six trustees one is the master himself, two are absentees, one is dead; so that only two are possibly efficient. The master is incumbent of a parish of 4,000 or 5,000 souls, and takes private pupils. At the same time this parish also is receiving money from the education grant. Wotton-under-Edge.

At Hingham, in Norfolk, there is a free school, the income of which is 210*l.* At the time of the Inspector's inquiry there were 30 boys in the lower school. There was also an upper school, but only eight foundation boys, the late master having had 42 boarders. According to the report, the sort of education supplied by the upper school was not wanted. In Hingham the national school receives both aid from the Government and considerable pecuniary support from the rector. There seems to be no provision for a girls' or infants' school, though it may be mentioned, Hingham.

that 35*l.* is distributed yearly in bread. Part of this, if applied to education—a plan which many persons in the parish seemed to approve of—and the better administration of the free school, would amply supply the educational wants of Hingham.

Coventry.

The city of Coventry is, to use a legal expression, "a leading "case" on the question of charities. It has been the subject of a special inquiry by the Charity Commissioners, and the result of their deliberation appears in the Appendix to their third Report. I shall, therefore, content myself with some general observations. It will be remarked that the administration of the Coventry charities illustrates not only the point immediately under discussion, but several others which will hereafter be discussed in detail.

In that city the endowed schools are numerous. According to the Digest of the Charity Commissioners Reports they are as follows:—

	£
A Free Grammar School with an annual income of	1,070
Bablacke's Boys' Hospital	890
Cow-lane Charity School	400
Southern and Craner's Charity School	89
Bayly's School	153
Fairfair's School	72
Bluecoat School for girls	134
	£2,808

These revenues have now considerably increased. According to the Report of the Charity Inspector, the income of Bablacke Hospital was 1,660*l.* instead of 890*l.*, and the result is that 52 boys are educated.

Besides these educational endowments there is a loan charity, the mere accumulation of which amounts to some 22,000*l.*, and another charity distributed in doles of money amounting to 1,100*l.* a year.

With such funds it is obvious that there ought to be no difficulty in supplying education to the citizens without extraneous aid. I have not been able to obtain the precise number of boys and girls educated by all, but with respect to some I have. In most of the schools the children are clothed and maintained as well as educated, and it is probable correct to say that the numbers in all of them does not exceed 350.

The free grammar school was in 1852 divided into two schools, an upper or classical, and a lower or commercial school. But the masters of both do parochial duty. In fact, about a century ago, by Act of Parliament, the mastership of the grammar school was joined with the rectory; but the two duties are incompatible. The separating the school into an upper and lower was something, but still the change was not successful. The Charity Inspector reports that in 1852 the free boys in the upper school numbered 22, the non-free boys 4. In this upper school the course of education is the same as at Rugby; but then whilst

the class from which free boys are recruited, does not want so high a style of education, the non-free boys, besides being charged too much, are required to associate with an inferior class, to which their parents object. The upper school therefore is comparatively useless.

Again in the lower or commercial school, which is capable of accommodating 100 or 120 boys, there were at the time of the last inquiry only 80. Out of a population of 36,000, the attendance of only 100 boys speaks for itself. But the disproportion becomes still more enormous when we find that in Coventry there are no fewer than eight schools receiving large sums from the Parliamentary grant, the details of which may be seen in the Appendix to the last Report of the Committee of Council.

It is admitted by every dispassionate witness that whilst the charities founded expressly for education do not accomplish so much as they ought, the distribution of doles and the loans serve to demoralize and corrupt the people of the district. It is notorious that they are used with no sparing hand to influence the elections of members. Under such circumstances, the demand upon the Parliamentary grant seems somewhat unjustifiable. Why should the general public be called upon to contribute to promote education in the very district which is abundantly provided with funds ample for the same purpose?

A scheme indeed was settled by the Charity Commissioners and laid before Parliament, but it met with so much local opposition,—even from those who at one time seemed to approve of it,—that it was dropped. Things, I believe, go on as before. Instead of those vast sums of money doing any real good, "mendicity," as the Inspector says, "is encouraged, and the best interests of charity are forgotten."

Warwick. As it is at Coventry so it is at Warwick. In 1851 the population was 10,973, consisting of professional men, tradespeople, artificers, and workmen. According to Mr. Heath, the Treasurer of the Charities, 1,000*l.* might be obtained for education out of those not directly founded for that purpose, and according to the Inspector the funds for education are ample. In fact, he says, that of personalty there is a sum of 12,369*l.*, besides an annual income of 1,594*l.* derived from realty, which might be applied to education. Add to these funds 217*l.* 7*s.* 5*d.* for exhibitions, and 269*l.* 13*s.* 7*d.* for apprenticeship. But the King's school, which I observe was declared to be inefficient at the time of the former inquiry, for there were then only three foundation boys and two pay scholars, is inefficient still. Shortly before the inspector's visit there had been only three or four boys in the grammar school, and 100 in the commercial school. The truth is, that the education supplied is not the education wanted. In proof of this it is stated that during 10 years not a single son of a tradesman or professional man has expressed a desire to proceed to the University; and the exhibitions, of which there appear to be four to confer, are never full. The same is the case at Coventry. But whilst these large funds devoted to education are comparatively

wasted, at least three parochial schools in Warwick receive contributions from the Parliamentary grant.

Ludlow. Again, at Ludlow Grammar School, with an income of 540*l.*, the exhibitions to the University are in abeyance, and the boys number 50.

It may be interesting to recall the state of some of the grammar schools, as disclosed in the digest of the late Commissioners. Various causes may have contributed to these results, but probably the chief was that the education supplied was not the education wanted. At Sutton Coldfield, Warwickshire, there was a free grammar school, with an income of the value of 467*l.* 7*s.*, the result of which was six boys learning grammar. I am told that for many years there was no scholar. The master, says my informant, whom I remember to have heard of, lived as a landed gentleman on his own estate. At Stratford-on-Avon the income of the school was 130*l.*; the result was 15 free scholars. At Mancetter, in the same county, the income of the grammar school was 288*l.* 11*s.* 7*d.* without any scholar. This, however, arose from the inefficiency of the master. At Coleshill, in the same county, there was a grammar school with an income of 175*l.*, in which the head master taught five boys the classics free. At Thetford, in the county of Norfolk, there was a grammar school with an income of 258*l.* a year, the result of which was that the number of foundation boys was never kept up to eight. At the time of the inquiry one of this description was being taught by the head master, who had also seven boarders. At Little Walsingham the income of the school was 110*l.* without a single scholar, because no one wanted to learn Latin. In Northamptonshire there was a grammar school at Daventry, the income of which was 77*l.* 9*s.* 9*d.* The instruction was in the learned languages only, but there was no application for any such instruction, and no free scholars attending. At Guilsborough, in the same county, the income was 80*l.*, but no boys were being educated as free scholars, "there being no demand by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood for grammatical learning."

Illustrations of the same fact may be obtained in almost every page of the digest.

Cromer. In order to show the advantage which may result by supplying such education as the inhabitants want, I mention these cases. At Cromer there is a free grammar school, the master of which was to be "skilful in grammar." The endowment is only 10*l.*, but it is made up to 25*l.* At the time of the inquiry there were 76 scholars taught reading, writing, and accounts. For many years before the change there had been no application for classical education.

Audlem. The case of the Free Grammar School at Audlem, Cheshire, which was founded in 1642 is so singular that I shall give it in detail. The master, besides the school and dwelling-house, has 20*l.* a year. The facts connected with this school prove not only that a good master is of the first importance, but that the prosperity or decay of a school depends greatly upon whether the

educational wants of the people in the neighbourhood are regarded or ignored.

In 1796 the brother of the Dean of Hereford was master, and the number of boarders was considerable, some of them the sons of gentlemen of the county. Besides, the school was open to all classes, and all were taught in the same room. There was then no other school in Audlem.

1800—1829 there was another master who still had boarders, but the school declined.

1829—1836 the free boys continued to diminish in number.

1836—1839 an Irishman of "dissipated habits and in embar- "rassed circumstances succeeded." In his time there were some boarders, 14 free scholars, and 15 or 16 at half a guinea a quarter.

1839—1841 the next master had no boarders. The day boys who paid were so few that he could not make a living. There were 9 or 10 in the Latin class; about 20 or 30 gentlemen's sons, and 10 or 12 free boys.

1842—1850 there was a slight improvement.

1850—1853 the master had 6 or 7 boarders; about 22 boys, including boarders in 1850, but the attendance had diminished in 1853.

1853—1856 the next master brought two boarders, and he had about 3 or 4 others, but at last he had none.

1856 there was an entire change. A certificated master was appointed.

The clergyman states that, when he entered the parish, he found it destitute of all means of education for the children of the poor, the small tradesmen, and small farmers. The existence of the endowed school prevented the establishment of an independent National school. The effect of the alteration has been to increase the number of scholars to 75 boys on the books, consisting of all classes in the parish, from the wealthier farmers down to the smaller cottagers. The subjects of instruction are reading, spelling, English composition, writing, arithmetic, mensuration, geography, sacred history, and general information. The cottagers' children are taught chiefly reading, spelling, writing, and arithmetic, and all equally receive religious instruction.

It seems that some complaints were made to the Inspector of Charities, that the master could not teach Latin, but having promised that he should qualify himself to teach the elements of Latin, he is to remain for the present, and the complainants are satisfied.

Here then is an endowment of no great amount, sufficient, nevertheless, when fairly used, to furnish considerable assistance to education. Moreover, this great advantage has been gained, of mixing the children of the small farmer and the small tradesman with those of the labourer and the mechanic in a common school-room.

At Bath, there is a free grammar school, the history of which during the last few years illustrates the importance of charging fees, as well as the necessity of providing such an education as the population requires. When the scheme was before the Court of

Bath.

Chancery, the trustees proposed that a fee of two or four guineas a year should be charged. This the Court refused. The consequence is that a low class of boy was introduced into the school by the nomination of the municipal trustees, although it is asserted that even their parents could certainly afford to pay 10*s.* or 15*s.* a quarter. Thus the tone of the school was lowered, and considerable pecuniary resources were sacrificed. But this was not the only mistake. The late master, an eminent scholar, desired to make it a first-rate grammar school, and sunk a considerable sum of money on improvements. But the free boys prevented the sons of the upper classes coming, and, in fact, the school was a failure. The system has now been changed. A good English education, including modern languages, mathematics, and drawing, is supplied. All the boys are required to learn Latin; but those who do not learn Greek are in no wise hindered thereby from moving up. It is to be observed that the necessity of learning Latin is maintained both at Bath and at Manchester and elsewhere, not so much I believe for the purpose of teaching the boys that language, but rather for the purpose of excluding those who do not really mean to learn at all. It is in fact a test of the desire to be instructed. But to return to the effect of the new system—it appears that whereas in the half year ending Christmas 1858, the numbers were only 65, on the 8th of February 1860, they were 103.

It will be observed from the facts which have been adduced, that in almost every case the small number of pupils does not arise from an indifference of the people to education; because it seems the very places in which endowed schools with few pupils are found, demand aid from the Parliamentary grant. The thing wanted, therefore, is a better administration. The terms of the foundation ought to be altered in such a manner as best to supply the sort of education wanted.

Combination of small endowments.

3. Allusion has already been made to the small charities which are very generally devoted to education; and Mr. Fearon's list* has been referred to. It appears from the digest, that the annual sum of 19,112*l.* is given for or applied to education, without being connected with any school buildings. In reference to this subject Sir James Kaye Shuttleworth, says: "The bequests for "education are frequently so meagre, that they are insufficient for "the support of even a small school; yet they are not seldom be-"queathed in towns so limiting their application that they cannot "be employed in aid of the parochial or other local schools. A "charity of this kind may be applicable only to instruction in the "Catechism, or to the preparation of a limited number of children "for confirmation, or to teaching to read in the Holy Scriptures. "Often the subjects are much more peculiar; as, for example, that "the scholars learn 'plain song,' and to read." A cursory perusal of the digest amply confirms this description.

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* See Appendix.

Again, he says: "In some parishes many small rentcharges of "from 2*l.* to 10*l.* exist under limited trusts of this description, and "even under different sets of trustees, which might be employed "to increase the efficiency of the local schools. In other cases a "house and garden for a master have been left to one set of "trustees; another may possess a dilapidated school-house, or an "oratory, or a disused pesthouse or hospital; a third a small "field; besides which, such rentcharges as I have described above "may exist; yet from various causes the trustees may be un-"willing to co-operate, or may want the power. Consequently, "while the parish possesses in these separate endowments resources "equal to the support of a sufficient elementary school, no such "institution may exist, or it may languish in merited contempt "and neglect."

I understand that applications are constantly made to the Charity Commissioners by clergymen, who find that small endowments separately do little good, but that if they were combined they might produce some tangible results. But the Charity Commissioners can only recommend an application to the Court of Chancery or to the County Court after approving of a scheme; and it seems that rather than incur the trouble of going to either of these tribunals, the applicants forego the advantage of the gift. There seems to be no good reason why the Charity Commissioners should not exercise a direct summary process in unopposed applications for the rectification of charities.

Bovey Tracey.

As an instance of the advantage of combining gifts, there is the case of Bovey Tracey, in Devonshire:—With an income of 85*l.*, education is provided for 24 boys. In the same parish is a national school, educating 80 children, but supported by voluntary subscriptions and the Parliamentary grant. Here there is said to be a general desire on the part of the parish that the various gifts should be amalgamated and made more useful.

Corhampton.

At Corhampton, in Hampshire, there is an endowment for the education of the poor amounting to about 40*l.* Though the population entitled to take advantage of this endowment si about 4,000, there are almost no boys who do so. It had been suggested that the money should be paid over to the national school, but the expenses and trouble of a scheme seemed to deter those interested from proceeding.

Wargrave.

At Wargrave, in Berkshire, there is at present no separate national school, but in the same village there is an endowed school with an income of 240*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*, according to the digest, and the whole result, according to the digest, is 20 boys and 20 girls educated and clothed, and occasionally apprenticed. I understand that the national school forms part of the endowed school, and indeed has received aid from the Government. I also understand that there is no difference in rank or circumstances between the foundation boys and the paying scholars. It is clear, therefore, that if the clothing were discontinued, and the foundation boys obliged to contribute school pence, aid from Parliament would not be needed.

Keynsham. At Keynsham, in Somersetshire, there is a small endowment of 20*l.*, but no school. But there is also a sum of 81*l.* from one endowment, distributable in sums varying from 5*s.* to 20*s.* The recipients are about 100 in number. According to the Charity Inspector's report, he suggested that part of this 81*l.* ought to be applied to education. It should be observed that the parish now receives aid from Parliament. St. Martin's in the Fields is, I believe, another instance in which an endowment has been combined with the national school.

These instances seem to prove that if small endowments of various kinds in a parish were judiciously combined they might considerably aid in supplying funds for educational purposes.

Incompetency of Masters. 4. Another defect in the endowed schools is the incompetency of many of the masters, and the difficulties in the way of removing them. They were either incompetent when originally appointed, or there is a difficulty about removing them when their incompetency is discovered. As a general rule there can be no doubt, according to the evidence of Mr. F. O. Martin, who has had ample means of information, that the unendowed are superior to the endowed schools. In these the emolument does not depend upon the energy of the master, besides which it frequently happens that the managers or trustees are not very vigilant. Both the trustees and the master himself seem to consider that he has a vested right in his office. Twenty-four years ago, says Mr. Martin, I reported a schoolmaster in Borough-green, in Cambridgeshire, as deserving to be removed. I found him three or four months ago teaching, or pretending to teach, two little boys. He is since dead. There was a similar case, but not so bad, at Fen Ditton. I have myself seen several schools in which the master or mistress was quite incompetent; and it may be stated generally that wherever the subjects taught are the same as in the national or British schools, but the pupils are few in number, the schoolmaster or mistress is incompetent. In some cases the electors are

Reigate. responsible for this. Thus at Reigate only the other day where the parishioners elect the schoolmaster, Mr. Hare, the Charity Inspector, found three or four decayed tradesmen canvassing for the office of master, for which they were utterly unfit. Mr. Hare seems to have tried in vain to induce the parish to apply for a new scheme which should transfer the right of election from the

Burford. parish to the trustees. There is a school at Burford, the income of which is 127*l.* The schoolmaster was originally an apprentice to a druggist, and his predecessor was a cheese factor, by no means highly educated. It seems, moreover, that in the year 1858 the master seldom attended school more than four days a week, and

Allesley. was sometimes absent altogether. At Allesley in Warwickshire there is or was lately an endowed school with an incompetent master, and only five pupils.—In some cases the master has other duties. Thus at Coventry the masters, both of the upper and lower school, have parochial duty; and at Spalding in Lincolnshire, the master, a son of one of the governors, has parochial duty.

Removal of Masters. In former times it was no uncommon thing for schoolmasters to

hold their office without doing or pretending to do any duty; but it appears this evil has greatly diminished. Even now it happens that where the master is incompetent, the trustees or managers are reluctant to interfere; they think more of the interests of the master than of the public. At the same time it must be admitted that in many cases the trustees find a difficulty in getting an incompetent master removed in consequence of the state of the law. At present the Charity Commissioners may give the trustees a summary power to remove a schoolmaster, which it was formerly necessary to obtain from the Court of Chancery. But they cannot compel them to remove a master however incompetent; this can only be done by the Court of Chancery. This, however, is probably not the worst evil; for, according to Mr. Erle, even when the trustees are most anxious to discharge their duties, and after they have obtained the authority of the Charity Commissioners for the removal of an incompetent master, they cannot succeed in their object. The proceedings are exposed to so many technical difficulties, and the expenses are so enormous. As an instance, take the case of Enfield grammar school. A large majority of the trustees represented to the Charity Commissioners that the master was unfit. A special inquiry took place, and the result was that the Commissioners authorized his removal. Proceedings for that purpose were begun by the trustees, but in consequence of some nice technicality, it was necessary to begin again, not without considerable expense; then one of the trustees, the vicar of the parish, took part with the schoolmaster, and recommended him to retain possession of the school buildings. The Charity Commissioners had no power to take possession of the school buildings. It was therefore necessary to file an information and bill, as it is called, in order to give effect to the order of the Charity Commissioners: the result has been, that the man is now in possession of the schoolhouse, and that before he is removed the endowment will have ceased to exist. Another case is mentioned, in which the master was ultimately declared to be incompetent by the court; but in the proceedings there was some error—an error, however, so difficult to detect that the Chief Commissioner himself declared he would have thought it was no error at all—still the trustees who had fallen into this imperceptible mistake, were obliged to pay 1,200*l.* out of their own pockets. In another case, in which some trustees took proceedings to remove an incompetent schoolmaster, some technical error was discovered in this proceeding; but the error cost them 400*l.* out of their own pockets. It luckily happened that one of the trustees, a Roman Catholic gentleman, was a man of large fortune. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that very few masters are removed by compulsion, even when they are notoriously incompetent. The risk appears to be too great, even for the Charity Commissioners; only the other day they attempted to remove a schoolmaster against whom there were some imputations of immorality; finding the acts complained of had taken place three or four years ago, they cast about for some other

cause of removal, and happily the children were so utterly uninstructed that his dismissal was justified upon that simple ground.

There seems to be no doubt that the number of incompetent masters in endowed schools is daily diminishing. This arises from the improved condition of schools generally, and the contrast between a bad and a good school which is thus forced upon observers, as well as from the fact that in these days amongst the lower classes an efficient schoolmaster attracts pupils, and an inefficient one drives them away. Trustees ought not to be obliged to continue a master unless he is the best that can be obtained; and it is obvious that a man may deserve to be dismissed, although he is not absolutely incompetent.

How to stimulate Masters.

Upon the general subject of masters and the best means of stimulating their exertions, Mr. Hare makes some remarks, which are well worthy of consideration. He says:—

I think that the advantage of schools of this sort would be much better secured if the emoluments of the master were made to depend, as far as possible, on his success; if, instead of having a certain stipend, which he is sure to have whatever his success might be, he were well supplied with schoolroom and all the apparatus of instruction, and everything necessary for the proper conduct of the school, and then, that his remuneration should depend upon a certain amount of payment according to the number of his scholars, I think that, instead of his depending upon a certain income, which he would have whatever his school might be, and accordingly opening the competition for the office to all persons who want some quiet office in which they might go on for the remainder of their lives, or who want to marry or establish themselves in life, you would then open the competition chiefly to those who were likely to be successful masters, having first of all a certain standard of competency, and then letting them depend as much as possible upon their success. I think that, as those institutions now stand, a great number of them are impediments, and do a very small amount of good. They are great impediments against efforts which other persons would make if they were not in the way. I believe that many of these schools are inefficient in themselves, although not inefficient in anything that you can put your hand upon. You cannot say that the master is not competent to teach, and yet he is not generally a man highly adapted and generally gifted as a teacher. In fact, it is a protection to an inferior master, by which you exclude a good one. I believe that that is the case in a great number of instances; and, if the master's success were dependent upon his exertions and upon his qualities as a teacher, a very great thing would be gained with reference to the efficiency of these institutions.

It is certainly quite true that an inefficient endowed school not only deprives the children educated in it of a good education, but prevents the establishmet of a better school. A bad endowed school is much worse than no school at all. In the parish of Chertsey there is a school founded by Sir William Perkins, the income of which is above 400*l.* a year. Chertsey is a wide and populous parish, but the number of boys in attendance was only 90; of girls only 50, at the time of the Inspector's inquiry. The school was examined by the Rev. Mr. Brookfield and Mr. Hare, who reported that it "was not equal to what it ought to

be." Its existence, however, had for some time prevented Chertsey being supplied with a thoroughly good school.

In order to secure competent masters, three things are essential; *first*, the master's salary ought to be made to depend in some degree upon his success as a teacher; *secondly*, the idea that any schoolmaster has a freehold in his office ought to be at once discarded. He should be the officer of the charity. As Mr. Erle says, he should be master so long as he can be useful to the charity, and no longer. Some ready means ought therefore to be provided for at once removing an incompetent man. *Thirdly*, the endowed schools should be subject to a regular inspection. My own observation proves that the endowed schools under inspection are superior to those not under inspection. And the state of these schools, particularly the ward schools, in the City of London furnishes a striking illustration of this fact. Now it appears that the Charity Commissioners have scarcely time to attend to the charities as places of education. The trustees are often unable, even if they were willing, to examine the school. At the great endowed public schools, such as Rugby, Westminster, and Eton, it is well known that there are periodical examinations. The same thing should be the case in the smaller endowed schools. In some cases I observe that the Charity Commissioners have requested one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools to report upon some endowed school; but in others, as at the Bluecoat school at Warrington, the children are never examined. Certainly there is no general system of examination. Without this, however, it is utterly impossible either for the trustees or for the Charity Commissioners to ascertain whether the master is either able or willing to do his duty. It is perhaps needless to suggest that there can be no practical difficulty in having these examinations. The authorities at the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, or London, would readily nominate a list of examiners, who might be remunerated out of the charity fund. This plan would be strictly analogous to that now pursued at the great public schools. The trustees of the various endowed schools might be allowed to select their own examiners out of the list.

How to secure good Masters.

Necessity and practicability of inspection and examination.

5. The restrictions imposed by the terms of the foundation are another cause which prevents endowments from producing the largest possible results. According to these terms the children or parents must be born or resident within a particular district, or the child must be nominated by a particular person or class of persons, or the endowment must be applied within a certain area. I do not propose to discuss at large the policy of restrictions. The argument in favour of maintaining them is derived from the presumed will of the founder; but the truth is, that in every case in which a change is advocated, the circumstances have so changed that the founder cannot be supposed to have had any will in the matter. Who can foresee the state of things fifty years hence? The history of any parish will supply an answer. The law, indeed, forbids any private individual from settling his property, either real or personal, for a longer time than a life or lives in

Restrictions.

being, and 21 years after the cesser of the last life named. This is technically called the doctrine of perpetuity. No doctrine has been more thoroughly justified by experience. But it is obvious that the same principles which prove the necessity of the doctrine of perpetuity in private matters prove its necessity in public matters also. If it be expedient to limit the power of a man over property which he proposes to bestow upon his relations or his friends, it is not less expedient to limit the power of a man over property which he proposes to bestow upon some object of benevolence. Those who have most profoundly considered the matter agree in these principles, and I cannot do better than quote the opinion of the Vice-Chancellor, Sir William Page Wood upon the subject:—"I think it unreasonable," he says, "to allow any "existing owner the privilege of fixing for ever the destination "of any portion of his property, whether real or personal." And in a subsequent passage, he declares, in a paper read before the Association for Promoting Social Science (1859), "that the policy "of the law, with respect to charity, is inconsistent and incom- "plete. It encourages a man to devote personalty to charity, "because it gives him larger powers of disposition over personalty "when dedicated to charity than when given to private persons. "It discourages a man leaving land to charity, because he must "do so in his lifetime."

I can conceive no good ground for declining to remodel the terms of any endowment, and in so doing to put an end to restrictions. Such a change must be beneficial.

Changes proposed consistent with legal principles.

The legal doctrine that in charities there is a general as well as particular intention is well understood. In making an endowment founders are supposed to have had the general intention of devoting their gift to charity; the particular mode in which that general intention shall be carried into effect is comparatively unimportant. If the intention of a testator, however well defined, cannot be carried into effect exactly according to his conception, or if the objects he has pointed out subsequently cease to exist, the Court of Chancery directs a scheme for the appropriation of the fund *cy pres*. But if experience has shown that the scheme of any charity, ordained by the founder, tends to an useless expenditure of money, or to demoralize the population, it may fairly be contended that the intention of the founder has substantially failed, and that therefore the original scheme ought to be remodelled. To show that public opinion is tending towards this principle, I may mention that in modern deeds of endowment, it is not uncommon to provide, that at intervals of twenty years, the trustees for the time being shall be at liberty to alter the trusts upon which the charitable fund is held.

It was impossible to mistake the designs of those who endowed the colleges at Oxford, and it seems as impossible to mistake the designs of those who founded the endowed schools throughout the country. The modes which they adopted were various. They followed the ideas and the precedents of the times in which they lived, but their earnest desire was that there "should "never be wanting a due supply of men well qualified to serve

"God in church and state." This was the motive of their munificence. They intended to lay the whole country under contribution (as it were), in order to secure for the state the men of the highest ability. They did not intend to aid the wealthy who could aid themselves, nor to establish schools in places where there was nobody to take advantage of them, nor to pay masters for doing little or nothing; but their evident purpose was to place within the reach of the humblest classes the means whereby, if any were so minded, they might qualify themselves to fill the highest offices.

Nor has their purpose entirely failed. But as it was with the universities, so it has been with other endowments. Although their value has increased, the restrictions imposed by the terms of the endowment remain, and thus the number of those who can take advantage of them, instead of being proportionately increased, has proportionately diminished. In some cases, in consequence of the change of circumstances, the class of persons for whom the endowment was created has actually disappeared. There is no more glaring instance of this than the city of London. The property in this city devoted to charity has enormously increased, whilst those for whose benefit it was dedicated have been compelled to migrate. During the day, indeed, the shops, the warehouses, and the streets are busier than in the olden time, but in the evening they are deserted. Shopmen, clerks, labourers, and the merchants themselves betake themselves to the west end and the suburbs. For many purposes London, Manchester, and Birmingham must each be considered as one parish. The man who works all day in St. Andrew Undershaft, or in St. Giles, Cripplegate, is obviously entitled to participate in the charities of these parishes, although he may sleep in Southwark or at Hackney. If indeed a sufficient number of fit objects could be found within the area defined by the original endowments, the question of extending its terms would be of less importance, but otherwise the area ought clearly to be extended. The very persons for whom the endowments were designed are not permitted to participate in them, because inevitable circumstances have driven them to reside beyond the favoured district.

The educational endowments especially require to have the area of their influence extended. The earnings of the working classes are too small to enable them to supply their children with an efficient education. The school fees paid by the parents must, at least in this generation, be supplemented by monies derived from other quarters, and amongst others from a Parliamentary grant. If education is to advance, either that grant must be increased, or some other means must be found to supply the money required. And the question is whether the educational endowments could not be made to supply part of the deficiency if the restrictions attached to them were struck off.

The changes lately made at the University of Oxford furnish a complete precedent. The endowments of the various colleges of Oxford were subject to every kind of restriction. The only

abuse there was that the endowments did not do as much as they ought to do. These restrictions, with the consent of the colleges themselves, and with the sanction of Parliament, have been to a great degree abolished. Nor, as I understand, are men of wealth and enlightenment less disposed in consequence to bequeath money to useful purposes. Since the changes at Oxford bequests have increased. But these endowments are appropriated chiefly to the upper and the middle classes. The endowments with which I have to deal are for the benefit of the lower classes. If, however, the change has worked well in one case it may be reasonably supposed that it would work well in the other. And it should seem that the poorer classes are quite as much entitled to the interference of Parliament in their behalf as their brethren of greater wealth or of higher rank. 'Upon what ground is this principle not to be applied to Christ's Hospital, and the schools at Bristol and Reading founded on the same model? The largest number of children should be allowed to profit by them; and those children should be preferred who prove themselves most worthy by their zealous endeavours to win an entrance into such endowed schools. As in the case of scholarships and fellowships at the university, the privilege of entering these schools ought to be open to all comers, and the best candidate should be declared entitled to the prize.' It is difficult to estimate the effect which such a system would have in advancing education. 'To take a simple illustration. The income of Christ's Hospital is some 63,930*l.* a year. Besides the nominations which belong to those who have purchased the right, there are others which belong to various National schools.' If these nominations instead of being conferred by favour were to be given as prizes to the best boy in the school to which they are attached, it is needless to point out the beneficial result which might be expected.' Besides there are few towns or even villages throughout the country where the same honourable stimulus might not be applied.

Instances of Restrictions.

I have selected several instances for the purpose of illustrating the necessity of extending the influence of endowments. It will be observed that in some of them the circumstances which existed at the time of the foundation have greatly changed. The population of the district, from the rent of which the school-income is derived, is now much more in want of schools than the district where the school is situate; and in other cases it appears that in consequence of restrictions not authorized by the terms of the original foundation, parts of parishes are deprived of a share in the endowments in which the founders intended they should be allowed to participate.

Norwich.

At Norman's school at Norwich the benefit is restricted to the relations of the donor or the sons of inhabitants of a certain district. The income is stated to be 652*l.*; this serves to educate only 37 boys, 10*l.* being paid by the parents to the master for their maintenance. At Grantham, the population of which, in 1851, was 5,445 males and 5,428 females, there is a free

school with an income of more than 800*l.* There are only 48 boys in the school, and although 178*l.* are devoted to exhibitions, there were at the time of the inquiry 2 boys in the first class, and 1 in the second class. Boys of the age of eight and upwards, whose parents reside within 1 mile of Grantham, are admitted free, but according to the Charity Inspector's report the terms of the foundation are improperly restricted.

In the parish of St. Botolph, Aldgate, there is a school founded by Sir John Cass.

Sir John Cass' School.

The total income for 1854 was 2,880*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* The scheme for the school was settled in 1840 by the Court of Chancery. According to it, 60 boys are to be instructed in the said school in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and such other branches of instruction as shall be thought proper by the said trustees to fit and qualify the said boys according to their station in life to earn and gain their own subsistence and livelihood. Fifty girls are to be instructed in knowledge to fit them for household service. Six of the senior girls are to be boarded and lodged, and to be employed under the schoolmistress in the household, so that they may be better qualified for household service.

The children to be admitted shall be the children of *resident inhabitants of the freedom part of the said parish of St. Botolph, Aldgate, being members of the Church of England,* but the age of each child must be seven.

The boys and girls are to be clothed and fed, and the books and stationery, &c., are provided.

The master's salary is fixed at 80*l.*, the mistress's salary at 45*l.*; both have board and lodging.

Clothes are provided for children leaving the school, and sums of 10*l.* a head are provided for apprenticeship fees and prizes for good conduct.

The school is in Church-row, Aldgate, and is rented from Christ's Hospital.

In the last year (prior to the Inspector's report) there were 12 vacancies for girls and only 10 applications.

The parents of the boys must have resided three years in the ward in order to prevent the benefit of the Charity being a temptation to bring persons into the parish. This rule is sufficient to show the evils incident to a restricted area.

				£	s.	d.
In 1854 the expenditure on housekeeping, and providing children with dinners, was				450	13	6
Clothing				335	7	4
The salary of the master (uncertificated)	70	0	0			
Allowance	20	0	0			
Salary of mistress	45	0	0			
Allowance	5	0	0			
	£140	0	0			
Additions make up the 140*l.* to				199	0	0
Registrar, solicitor, and surveyor				250	0	0

It is to be remarked, that more money is spent, and perhaps properly, in registrars, solicitors, and surveyors, than upon education.

The whole expenses seem to amount to 1,382*l.*, the remainder of the income being spent upon improving the estate.

The balance of cash at Christmas 1853 was 495*l.* Thus the education of 110 boys and girls is the whole result of an expenditure of nearly 3,000*l.* a year.

Connexion with Hackney.

A very large portion of the income of this charity is derived from an estate at Hackney. On the occasion of Mr. Hare's visit to that estate, his attention was called to the great need in which the parochial schools there stood of additional support, having regard to the numerous, and by no means, wealthy population of the district. The sums received from the Parliamentary grant for Hackney amount to 4,095*l.* An application for money had been made to the trustees of Sir John Cass's estate, as the proprietors of so large a portion of the property in the parish. The trustees had granted a lease of a small plot of land at a nominal rent for a school. A subscription of 30 guineas a year had been suggested, which Mr. Hare observed would not be an extravagant sum.

It may be observed, that the owners of private estates consider it their duty to subscribe largely towards the education of the poor who live upon their property. It should seem that according to the same principle, the rents which go to St. Botolph's might fairly be required to contribute towards the educational wants of Hackney.

Aldenham School.

At Aldenham, in Hertfordshire, there is a free grammar school, founded in 1596. It was intended for the instruction of poor men's children of the parish of Aldenham, and for relief and maintenance of poor aged and impotent people. It is provided that a Master of Arts of St. John's Cambridge shall be master; and if there are not threescore from the district, the neighbouring parishes are to furnish scholars. There are six almspeople.

It may be useful to trace the history of this foundation; for it would be difficult to select a case in which the state of things has so completely altered. At the time of the foundation, out of an income of 49*l.*, no less than 42*l.* was devoted to the school, of which the master had 20*l.*, the usher had 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* In 1768, the rent of the estate amounted to 140*l.*, the master receiving 40*l.*, and the usher 25*l.* annually. In 1811, the St. Pancras estate began to be let on lease. In 1814, the master's salary was raised to 120*l.* In 1824, there was a new master, and two new schools were established.

There being no demand for the higher sort of education, the governors determined to build a new school capable of holding 50 boarders, sons of freemen of the Brewers' Company or inhabitants of Aldenham, who should pay 20*l.* a year.

In the lower school from 80 to 100 have received a common English education.

THE UPPER SCHOOL.

	£	s.
In 1858 there were 40 boys, for whom the master had 20*l.* each	800	0
8 exhibitions of 40*l.* per annum, not always full	320	0
Other expenses	26	16
	£1,146	16

LOWER SCHOOL.

	£	s.
Master's salary	100	0
3 monitors	13	0
Rewards, stationery, &c.	41	3
	£154	3

The income, after the deductions, is 2,725*l.*

Besides there is a sum of 4,238*l.* 0*s.* 11*d.* invested.

Charges not less than 250*l.* are made out of the funds for the purposes considered questionable by the Charity Commissioners.

It seems that Mr. Hare visited Aldenham to make a local inquiry into the charity. He observes that the general purpose of the charity is "*to educate poor men's children.*" This purpose is said to be carried into effect by the lower school. But as to the grammar or upper school, it does not seem that the present application of 800*l.* a year to board forty boys, is within the spirit, if it is even within the terms of the foundation deed. There is not a syllable about *boarding* in that document. The present plan is to admit parents to the freedom of the company, in order that they may take advantage of the Aldenham school.

Mr. Hare recommends the establishment of another lower school. One of these new schools would accommodate scholars coming from fifteen small places which cannot afford schools of their own. At the time of the inquiry there were no fewer than forty-four boys from some one of these fifteen places.

It should be observed that this foundation, which was created for the purpose of educating *poor men's* children, is in fact employed to educate the children of those who are *rich*, or, at all events, perfectly well able to contribute towards the instruction of their offspring. And the fact that Mr. Hare recommends the establishment of another lower school, and points out that the charity possesses ample funds for the purpose, shows that the endowment might be employed in a manner much more analogous to the original foundation than that in which it is employed now; whilst the Parliamentary grant would be proportionably relieved.

Connexion with St. Pancras.

But there is a peculiarity about this case of Aldenham which deserves notice. The income is derived from St. Pancras. With regard to the schools on that estate for the children of the tenants of the property, Mr. Hare says:—

I am anxious to bring before the Board the condition of the charity in relation to the St. Pancras estate, and the obligations which seem to attach to the governors in this respect, whether we consider the duties which attach to the possession of a large revenue derived from that estate, or the spirit which, as far as we can judge from his acts, animated the mind of the founder in his desire to promote and extend education.

At the time of the foundation, the Aldenham portion of the endowment produced a rental of 27*l.* a year, and evidently formed, in the estimation of the founder, from the precedence which he gives it in his enumeration, the most important part of the property. The St. Pancras estate was meadow land, let for twenty-one years at 22*l.* a year (which would have extended down to the middle of the reign of James I.), the tenant having covenanted for good husbandry, not to break or plough up the land, and the lessor having reserved the right of fishing. If the founder had been told that his Hertfordshire estate would at a future day produce an annual income of nearly seven times what it then did, he would probably have been astonished; but taking into consideration the increased cost of the necessaries of life, he might still have dedicated that estate to the objects for which he gave it. If he had, at the same time, foreseen that the St. Pancras estate would, two centuries afterwards, be covered with habitations, and produce a revenue more than fourteen times as great as the Hertfordshire estate, even at its augmented and highest value, I confess it appears to me an utter absurdity to suppose that he would have directed its income to be wholly employed in teaching the children of Aldenham and the neighbourhood. It is rational to suppose that he considered the situation of his property and its duties, the state of the population and its wants; and not to conceive that any fanciful attachment to place overcame his regard for his fellow-creatures. And if the *cy pres* doctrine were held to lead to a contrary result, and to the sacrifice of the sense and substance of things to mere words, it would be a doctrine offensive to the understanding.

The income of the St. Pancras estate is 2,551*l.* 10*s.* consisting of ground rents derived from houses near the Great Northern Railway Station. The greater number of the houses are of the third class; small two-storied dwellings. Taking the Census of 1851, throughout the parish of St. Pancras there are about two and a quarter families or nine persons to each house, and Mr. Hare calculates that this property contains a population of 6,556, of which about 800 are children—"perhaps" he adds, "as much in "need of assistance in the way of education from the limited means "of their parents as any population in the kingdom." It should be observed, however, that the governors have not been wholly unmindful of the claim upon their funds of this vast population consisting of their tenantry. In the year 1854 they subscribed 100*l.* to the building fund of the Somers Town British Schools, which were erected on the north side of the St. Pancras estate, and in the same year they subscribed 50*l.* to the Old St. Pancras Church National Schools.

This Pancras estate is the more worth noticing, because every year adds to its value, and probably to the density of its population.

St. Dunstan's in the West.

The case of St. Dunstan's in the West furnishes another

illustration of the necessity of extending the area within which its charities are applied.

The liberty of the Rolls forms part of the parish of St. Dunstan's in the West. The liberty is in the county of Middlesex, the rest of the parish is in the City of London. The parish church of St. Dunstan's was the church of the liberty; one fifth of its sittings was traditionally set apart for the liberty, nor did this cease till the old church was pulled down in 1832. The present church was built in 1842. Between 1832 and 1842 the population of the liberty had none. The charities are all given to the poor of the parish of St. Dunstan's, and yet it seems to be clear law that the poor living within the liberty are included within the terms of the original gift. It might not be worth while to disturb present arrangements for a mere legal question. But it is certain that by an apportionment sanctioned by the Court of Chancery, the poor of the liberty are practically excluded from the benefit of these charities.

The truth is, that circumstances have greatly changed since the period when that apportionment was made, and the poor of the liberty now require aid more than the poor of the city portion of the parish of St. Dunstan's. In former times the liberty of the Rolls contained the residences of distinguished lawyers and judges, and of many wealthy solicitors, whilst the poor inhabited the city portion of St. Dunstan's. The noble and wealthy have emigrated westward; their places are filled by the poor and needy. According to the incumbent's evidence not fewer than 400 pauper families reside within the liberty; and it may be assumed that out of its population of 2,567, the paupers number 2,000. The population of the city portion of St. Dunstan's is 2,887, and it is said that the proportion of paupers is not nearly so large as in the liberty.

Now it appears that the charity endowments of St. Dunstan's amount to something more than 1,245*l.* a year; of this sum there is paid to the liberty of the Rolls only 4*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, by virtue of an old apportionment which was settled in the last century. It also appears that notwithstanding these large charities, the parish has received 609*l.* from the Parliamentary grant since 1858.

St. Thomas, Charterhouse.

One of the most remarkable cases of restriction is that of St. Thomas, Charterhouse, which is part of the parish of St. Luke's.

In 1851, the population within an area of 220 acres was 54,055.

This parish lies between the old establishments of the city on the south, and the moderate residences of Islington on the north. It is thus peculiarly the habitation of those who employ themselves in assisting the labours, supplying the wants, and ministering to the pleasures of the more wealthy districts by which they are nearly surrounded. By passing up Golden Lane and down Whitecross Street without penetrating the numerous lateral courts and alleys which intersect the principal blocks of buildings, some

idea may be formed of the general character of the population. Many of the shops are those of marine store dealers, furniture brokers, who deal in inferior goods, spirit shops, dealers in the cheaper sorts of provisions and offal, retail coal shops, and other trades, whose customers are evidently of the poorer and casual sort. The streets in fair weather are filled with groups of idlers, issuing not only from the houses in these thoroughfares, but from the narrow passages which open into them.

The pavement is frequently crowded by the audiences of itinerant musicians, and the spectators of street amusements. I have received, says Mr. Hare, from one who well knows the more obscure part of the district, a description of the population of the courts and alleys; and it states that they consist of costermongers, hawkers, and thieves. Those of a less nomadic character are publicans, pawnbrokers, and tradesmen in a petty way of business. As a specimen, there is one old woman who has 12 children, all of whom are married and all get their living in the streets,—making 24 vagabonds at once. Playhouse Yard, (which was the site of Alleyn's Theatre—The Fortune—and has been let by Dulwich College on a long lease,) is said to be the resort and refuge of the worst characters of the metropolis, and to be for this very reason highly lucrative to the lessee and under-lessees of the college. The state of the adult population of the parish renders it the more necessary that efforts should be made to provide a better education for the young, and to rescue them if possible from the habits of life to which they are exposed, by making it evidently the interest of the parents that they should avail themselves of the advantages of instruction offered to their children. Though some pains have been taken by the vestry to prevent an indiscriminate distribution of the large charities of the parish, still a considerable sum annually is distributed by tickets.

The parish of St. Luke, which was formerly part of St. Giles', Cripplegate, has been divided into three ecclesiastical districts; viz., the districts of St. Thomas, Charterhouse, St. Matthew's, City Road, and St. Mark's, Old Street. It is important to inquire how the charitable endowments of the parish are apportioned among the districts.

St. Thomas, Charterhouse, includes Golden Lane, Whitecross Street, and the adjoining courts and avenues. It contains 9,500 of the poorest inhabitants. Mr. Rogers became the incumbent at Michaelmas 1845, and found a population of 9,000 in the very poorest and most ignorant condition, with an empty church and no schools. After visiting the district he saw that it would be utterly useless to attempt to reclaim those who seemed to have grown up in almost inveterate habits of carelessness and neglect; and knowing from experience how much was to be done even with common attention on the part of the clergyman to the rising generation, he determined to devote his energies to the establishing of schools. He began in a blacksmith's empty shed, and that was immediately filled with boys. Then he got a work-

shop, and the workshop at once filled with girls. At length he was able, with some difficulty, to obtain a site for the present schools.

The governors of the Charterhouse granted the ground; and the schools were built in 1846 at a cost of 1,750*l.*, with accommodation for 550 children. Soon, however, they became overcrowded, the number being:—

Upper boys - - - -	250
Lower ,, - - - -	190
Girls and infants - - -	350
Total - - -	790

Then came the Government scheme of pupil-teachers, which Mr. Rogers adopted. The character of the education was improved and the school fees were increased. Still the number of scholars increased until, in fact, it exceeded by 300 the number for which accommodation was provided.

For these 300 a room was hired in Goswell Street, but the income was so uncertain that it became necessary either to put the matter on a more certain footing or to make preparations to disband the school at any moment. A petition, signed by 1,000 inhabitants of this parish, was presented to the Marquis of Lansdowne for an increase of schools in the neighbourhood. It is very remarkable that more than two-thirds of the signatures to this petition were crosses. This petition was favourably received, and the ground was at once secured. In fact, a sum of 1,954*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* was granted out of the Parliamentary fund. The difference between that sum and 6,212*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.* was supplied by donations and collections. From the endowments of the parish, which was of course most interested, the sum did not exceed 50*l.* There has been yet a third set of schools in Golden Lane. This district, as appears by the Committee of Council's last report, has had 15,511*l.* 2*s.* 11*d.* in one form or another, from the Parliamentary grant up to the end of 1859.

St. Matthew's.

The Rev. J. Lawrell, the incumbent of St. Matthew's, City Road, told the inspector that the population of his district, (also part of the parish of St. Luke) was about 3,400; one-half being what are called poor, and the remainder tradesmen, clerks in banks and insurance companies and such offices. There were two National Schools, one for boys, another for girls, both under inspection of pupil-teachers. Each school could hold a hundred, and are maintained by voluntary subscriptions and school-pence. There is also a Sunday School. At the time of the Report attempts were being made to erect a school; and, according to the Education Reports, Government aid amounting to about 800*l.* appears to have been granted.

St. Mark.

The Rev. W. Hinson, the incumbent of St. Mark, Old Street (another district church), told Mr. Hare that the number of inhabitants in that portion of his parish which has been taken from the parish of St. Luke, is about 3,000—two-thirds being in needy circumstances, and occasionally receiving relief from the

District Visiting Society of St. Mark. At the time of the inquiry there were no schools in his parish in connexion with his church, but it was intended to raise schools for 200 children. St. Luke's charities contributed not one farthing. I find that since Mr. Hare's visit the Government has granted about 450*l.* towards education.

Besides these three the inspector visited a National and Infant school in Bunhill Row. These derive no benefit from St. Luke's charities. "The children," says the same authority, "mostly left "as early as they could succeed in getting into the endowed "schools *where clothing is given.*"

Now it should be observed that these three districts form part of St. Luke's parish, with its charitable endowments—Worrall's School, the Parochial School, Trotman's School, Clark's, Brown's, and Woodman's Charity, Dulwich College, and Fuller's School—amounting according to the Digest to 1,676*l.* a year, and are contiguous to St. Giles Cripplegate, the Charities of which amount according to the Digest to 3,843*l.*, exclusive of almshouses. These charities have contributed scarcely one single farthing to the schools lately erected for the poor in the immediate neighbourhood; and yet since the year 1847 Parliament has contributed to this very parish of St. Luke's between 15,000*l.* and 20,000*l.*

Mr. Hare indeed recommended that a committee should be invited to consider a new educational scheme for the whole parish. But so far as I can learn no step whatever has been taken for that purpose.

Perversion of Charity.

It will be observed that in the cases in which it has become difficult to find objects of the charity, in consequence of the restrictions imposed by the terms of the endowment, the general result is that the charity is, in fact, applied to purposes never contemplated by the founder—perhaps, it may be said, perverted. In the united parishes of St. Laurence Jewry, and St. Mary Magdalene, there is a charity founded by Mrs. Smith. According to her will, dated the 13th April 1693, she bequeathed certain property, the income of which was to be applied "for the teaching, "att some creditable Latin schoole, or writeing schoole, or either of "them, or parte at one and parte at the other, of six boyes, *children "of the poorest inhabitants* of the said parish of St. Laurence Jewry "at the rate of forty shillings per annum a-piece for each boy "for the respective time of his schooleing, not exceeding six years "in the whole for any one boy;" the overplus of the rents to be laid out in providing the necessary books for the boys. Then there was a trust for such greater number of boys of the parish as should be proportionable to the increase of the rents.

In 1835 a scheme was settled by the Master in Chancery, according to which 80*l.* was set aside out of the surplus rents for the purpose of providing four exhibitions to the schools attached to King's College and the London University, and to such other eminent schools as the vestry of the united parishes should from time to time appoint, to which the *sons of the poorest inhabitants* paying parochial rates of St. Laurence Jewry should be eligible.

Other 40*l.* were provided for two other exhibitions for the parish of St. Mary Magdalene.

I have reason to believe that, although the exhibitioners may be most deserving persons, they do not come within the class of what can properly be termed *the poorest inhabitants of the parish*, and that, in fact, there is not now any object of the charity within the parishes in question. Such being the case, there seems no reason why the gift of Mrs. Smith should not be applied to educate the really poor, even although they may reside beyond the parish boundaries. It would be no more a violation of her will to educate such children than to educate the sons of persons who can afford to pay for the education of their children.

Charities not originally devoted to Education.

II. I come now to those charities which, though not originally devoted to education, might be applied to that purpose. They consist of sums of money to furnish loans, to pay apprenticeship fees, to support almshouses, and to supply money or bread or clothes to the poor.

Loans.

1. I have not been able to ascertain the amount of money devoted to loans, but it must be very considerable. One of the largest is that of Sir Thomas White, which is to be found in various counties. So far as I have been able to ascertain, the loans do little, if any, good. I am confirmed in this view by the remarks which appear in a report of one of the Charity Inspectors. And his opinion is consistent with that of the Secretary of Charity Trustees at Bristol:—

Sir Thomas White's Charity.

"I have inquired," says the Inspector, "in this town (Hereford) "and other towns whether this (Sir Thomas White's) loan charity "is really of any practical advantage to those who obtain the money, "and I find the general opinion to be that the loans are not pro- "ductive of any good. In most cases the persons who are so un- "fortunate as to be induced to become the sureties are the persons "ultimately obliged to pay the debt, and there does not appear "any recorded or known instance of a borrower who has really "benefited by the loan. Amongst the obligors in the eleven "bonds I was told by a gentleman who knew the whole of them, "that only one of them had risen in the world."

It is also alleged by competent witnesses, that the sureties sometimes get the money lent to a poor man, to whom they pay a few pounds or shillings, and use the money lent themselves, repaying it at the end of the time stipulated.

Burford.

To illustrate the condition of the loan charities, I may mention that at Burford it was found impossible to distribute the money in the form of loans, and therefore it has been applied by the Corporation in donations to poor tradesmen. Again, at Nottingham there is Sir Thomas White's charity for loans to *young men, inhabitants of that town.* The annual income is 1,656*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.* The capital of the charity is 18,000*l.* At the time of the inquiry the sums out on loan amounted to 16,416*l.* There was a large surplus in the bank. The loans are now made in sums from 50*l.* to 100*l.* Although the loans are directed to be made to *young men*, it appears that out of 68 granted in 1853, 1854, and 1855,

only a bare majority were to *men* between 21 and 30. The loans are in fact made to persons of all ages. It is clear, therefore, that the persons who receive the benefit of the charity are not the persons contemplated by the founder. The Coventry case is detailed in the Charity Commissioners' Reports. But, according to Mr. Erle's statement, there is a sum of 22,000*l.* or 23,000*l.*, arising from accumulation, and lying absolutely idle because there were no applications. Under these circumstances, it seems not unreasonable to apply the surplus fund at least to educational purposes, and so far to diminish the Government Grant.

Apprenticeship Fees.

2. Amongst the public charities there is a very large number dedicated to the purpose of apprenticing the children of the poor. According to the printed Digest of the Reports of the late Commissioners, which has been examined on purpose, it appears that the annual sums exclusively applicable to apprenticeship amount to 31,670*l.*; besides which, the sum of 69,200*l.* a year is applicable partly to apprenticeship and partly to other purposes. These estimates, it must be observed, rest upon information collected more than twenty, and in some cases more than forty years ago. During that period the endowments have greatly increased in value. I agree, therefore, in thinking that at the present time the sum of money devoted to apprenticeship cannot be less than 50,000*l.* a year.

The amount of the fee varies greatly, ranging from 5*l.* to 25*l.* for each child. Some of the charities are administered by existing corporate bodies; some by the municipal trustees of corporate towns, who have succeeded the old corporations; some by the minister and churchwardens and other parochial authorities. A large number of trustees are appointed from time to time and have not of necessity any public capacity.

Most of these endowments are of an ancient date, but the circumstances in which an apprentice is now placed are very different from what they were at the date of the foundation. In former times the apprentice was taken into the master's house, and became a member of his family. This system is still practically pursued in the case of boys taken from the workhouse, and I have myself seen such apprentices at work with their masters; but, generally, this custom has ceased, and the boy lives with his parents or friends. So far, therefore, as the constant superintendence of the master is concerned, the change in the state of society has, in great measure, put an end to the utility of this sort of endowment.

It is difficult to lay down any general proposition with respect to the mode in which this sort of charity is administered. According to Mr. Hare's account: "In the best example of "such administration the apprenticeship fees are applied in the "apprenticeship of the children of old servants or labourers of the "trustees or their friends; of small tradesmen who are in some "way connected with the municipal or corporate bodies, or the "children of persons in more or less straitened circumstances "who happen to be known to the trustees." According to the evidence, however, of all the Charity Inspectors whose opinion I have had an opportunity of ascertaining, in many cases the appren-

ticeship fee is believed to be by an underhand arrangement divided between the parent and the master to whom the boy is apprenticed. In the rural parishes the range of trades is very limited. A very large proportion of boys are apprenticed to the trades of tailors and shoemakers; but, unfortunately, the masters are very poor and not unfrequently bad workmen. The small sum of 5*l.* or 10*l.* is to them a great object. The consequence is that they very frequently neglect their pupils, employ them as mere errand boys, or being inferior workmen are unable to instruct them properly. It is no uncommon thing for the master to abandon the trade; the master and apprentice separate, or the boy runs away, and no attempt is made to bring him back, so that the apprenticeship fee is practically lost. In the towns, on the other hand, the fee is useless. Respectable well-to-do masters do not care about the 5*l.* or 10*l.* If a boy is well connected and well educated, such masters gladly take boys and have them instructed. In the more important trades this is the universal practice, and at Bath I was informed by a leading tradesman that he was in the habit of presenting the boy with his apprenticeship fee to purchase tools, or as a reward for good conduct.

But apprenticeship fees are not only useless. There is reason to fear that they are positively detrimental to the prospects of boys. In confirmation of this, it is to be observed that in those Poor Law unions which are best administered the guardians pay nothing by way of premium to masters who take the boys from the workhouse, whilst in those unions where the management is defective, and the boys are badly educated, the guardians are obliged to bribe masters to take them out of the house. In reading the Reports of the Charity Inspectors I have constantly met with cases in which the fund for apprenticeship fees had accumulated because no application had been made for years. Thus, in St. Duntan's-in-the-West, only three applications for apprenticeship fees had been made in six years. And at St. Antholin's in the city of London, there is an apprenticeship fund called "Coventry's Charity." For many years, however, there has been no apprentice, and the fund has accumulated in the hands of the Merchants Tailors' Company, so that a scheme is now wanted for its application. In Ravenstone, Bucks, there is Chapman's Charity, for clothing and apprenticing, consisting of 5,546*l.* 5*s.* 10½*d.* It seems that there is no demand for apprenticeship fees. In Ravenstone, between 1849 and 1856, there were only eleven applications, and in Little Woolston, during the same period, only one application.

It is a very common opinion that the money devoted to apprenticeship should be applied to education, and if it be true that the educated boy will be gladly taken by any respectable master without fee, there seems good ground for the opinion. The object of these fees originally was, to enable a boy to learn a trade, and now it seems that the best mode of attaining this object is by having a boy well instructed. Without education it is practically impossible for a boy to profit by the instruction. Accordingly in Little Woolston, where there is nothing but a second-rate school,

the Inspector reports that the boys, even when they are apprenticed, are "*in many cases anything but fit to enter upon services*" The desire, therefore, on the part of some of the principal persons in the parish for the establishment of a good school seems extremely natural. In this case, as in others mentioned by Mr. Martin, the trustees would willingly convert the apprenticeship endowment into one for education.

The particular mode in which these endowments might be applied to education has been a subject of frequent deliberation. One opinion seems to be that they should be given as prizes to the best scholars in the schools of the district to which they are attached. The early period at which boys and girls are removed from school is the chief evil to be met. A prize of 5*l.* or 10*l.* by way of exhibition, whilst it stimulated education, would enable parents to allow their children to remain longer under instruction. Another and perhaps better opinion is that the apprenticeship funds should be applied to ease the Parliamentary grants for pupil-teachers. Between 1847–1860 that grant amounted to 1.487,705*l.* In the year ending 1859 it amounted to 252,550*l.* For a poor man's son a schoolmaster's is now a very well paid profession. A salary of 90*l.*, a house and the apprenticeship fees paid, are enough to satisfy many, and to tempt others to follow their example.

Almshouses. 3. The next species of charity to which I shall allude is the almshouses. So far as my inquiries extend, such institutions are decidedly popular. There appears to be something captivating in the idea of a neat comfortable home for old men and women, who would otherwise be sent to the workhouse. An almshouse is a very tangible sort of munificence. The founder has something to show for his money. But it is by no means clear that the inmates adopt the same view. Any one who knows the feelings of the poor, or, indeed, considers the natural course of things, will readily understand the superior advantage of a small pension. Many an old man or woman might decline leaving relations or friends to enter an almshouse, to whom a few shillings a week would be a most grateful boon. Under a system of pensions it is obvious that the persons benefited might be greatly increased; besides which the expenses of management, which are said to absorb about 30 per cent. of the gross income, would be considerably diminished. In charities, as in other cases, few things appear to be more expensive than lawyers, surveyors, and builders. In illustration of these statements, I beg leave to quote the observations of Mr. Martin with regard to the almshouses at Stafford: "The pensions are more "valued than the almshouses. This, indeed, is a general feeling. "Pensions are attended with several advantages over almshouses. "They are not visible invitations to improvidence, and they do "not run away with money in new buildings and repairs, in which "charity trustees are apt to indulge."

Again, Mr. Martin says: "That although well-endowed alms-"houses may afford a refuge to persons who have seen better days, "they are very apt to be jobbed." It might have been hoped that matters had improved since the time when men used to seek to be

mayors in order to exercise the right of putting their wives in some almshouse to which they had the right to present. But it seems that even now almshouses are made to furnish a retirement for the servants of some influential person, and sometimes to reward political supporters. Thus, at Canterbury there are two hospitals, the income of which amounts to about 1,500*l.* a-year, and of which the Archdeacon of Canterbury is master. He appoints the inmates. It appears that all the brethren who were on the register, except one, voted on the same side as a gentleman very much connected with the hospital. In other cases, as at Bewdley, Salisbury, and elsewhere, the almshouses are in a very dilapidated condition, and, as Mr. Martin says, little if anything more than receptacles for paupers.

Upon a house in Saltash, Cornwall, is the following inscription: —"This almshouse is a gift of James Buller, of Shillingham, Esq., "deceased, whose glorious memory as well as illustrious favors "ought not to be forgotten, but kept, as 'tis to be hoped they will, "in everlasting remembrance. December ye 6, in ye yeare of our "Lord 1726." According to the Inspector the premises are considered to be a nest of disease, and, therefore, a nuisance.

I have only to add that the mastership of hospitals are generally mere sinecures. To give only one instance—the case of St. Catherine's Hospital, Ledbury, founded in the 13th century, for the use of the poor and the maintenance of divine worship. The income amounts to 1,611*l.* 1*s.* 5*d.* Out of this charity, the master has, besides the house, 262*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.* The charity supports only 10 persons, 3 women and 7 men; they absorb 208*l.* 10*s.*

Since 1851, it may be observed that Ledbury has received 400*l.* from the Parliamentary Grant in aid of the national school.

Charities of which the objects have failed.

4. Lastly, there is a certain sum of money derived from charitable endowments, which is accumulating because there are no objects to which it can be applied. At Newbury, for instance, there were two charities, one with a surplus of 139*l.*, another with a surplus of 222*l.* At Northleach there is a grammar school with an income of 627*l.*, educating only twenty boys in 1855, and ten foundation boys in 1859, which has a sum of 1,000*l.* accumulated in the hands of Queen's College, Oxford. At St. Dunstan's-in-the-East, in London, the Charity Inspector says that the unappropriated charities will soon amount to 3,000*l.* a year. These accumulations usually arise from the fact that the charity property has so greatly increased in value as to make the appropriation of the money to the purposes originally intended practically impossible. Thus, a tobacconist left a field, with directions that the rental should be held in trust to supply six poor women with snuff at Barthelmy tide. The field became valuable building land, and the annual rent increased to a very large amount. To apply such an income to such a use would be obviously absurd. But besides this, there are charities where the circumstances no longer exist which called them into being; such as endowments for the payment of fifteenths and other charges, for providing archery butts, for leper hospitals, for "setting forth soldiers, making or amending "wells, or otherwise for the benefit of the inhabitants," &c.

In such cases it seems reasonable to say that they should be applied to education, instead of being left to be dealt with by the Court of Chancery, according to the doctrine of *cy pres*.

Charities for the Poor.

5. We now come to endowments for the poor, the value of which is very considerable. The third part of the Analytical Digest is devoted to this subject, and according to that document I find that the annual amount is 167,908*l.* Considering, however, that the value of charity property has greatly increased, and that, even according to the digest, these figures do not represent the annual endowment at the time the late Commissioners made their report, it is probable that the real amount is not less than 200,000*l.* a year.

This vast sum is annually distributed to the poor; and the trustees, according to the forms of the endowments, have power to bestow gifts varying in amount, sometimes upon any person whom they consider poor, sometimes upon the poor who may not be in receipt of parochial relief, sometimes upon the poor within a certain district, or after attending church, or subject to some other condition. Any page of the digest will furnish an illustration of the mode in which this fund is directed to be dealt with. Thus, in the county of Kent, we read that sums are to be paid to the poor after service—to the poor in bread on certain days—to buy waistcoats—to 20 poor families 6*s.* each in money and clothes—to 12 poor families, dissenters as well as church people, for clothing and peas-soup—to poor families in coals and shoes—to poor inhabitants on donor's birthday—to resident parishioners not receiving relief, and having attended divine service, in bread—to buy garments for four widows. As a further illustration, take the case of the county of York, where the Commissioners reported upon 2,583 charities. Of these, 1,547 were for the poor, and as to the large proportion of them in general terms. Some were for the poor not receiving parochial relief; others for poor of certain townships, or particular sects or trades; for poor upon certain days, and after attending services at particular churches; for poor in bread, clothes, or coals, for widows or orphans. It is remarkable that the gifts for sermons alone are rare; education, or the attendance of the poor at the sermon, being almost always added. Such, then, are the terms on which money is appropriated to what may be denominated generally the "dole charities." I subjoin a list of these according to counties.

INCOME of PUBLIC CHARITIES for DISTRIBUTION to the POOR in ENGLAND and WALES, from Parliamentary Return in 1842.

Counties and Cities.	Poor generally.	Poor not receiving Parish Relief.	Poor specifically.	Total.
ENGLAND.	£ s. d.	£ s.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Bedford - -	1,487 19 5	94 15 0	569 6 0	2,152 0 5
Berks - -	1,606 17 10	153 14 9	2,083 5 0	3,843 17 7
Bucks - -	1,873 15 9	55 3 4	1,146 2 9	3,075 1 10
Cambridge -	3,613 10 10	190 17 10	1,284 4 1	5,088 12 9
Chester - -	2,836 7 1	227 16 3	753 10 7	3,817 13 11
Cornwall - -	745 11 0	82 4 0	257 19 5	1,085 14 5

Income of Public Charities—*continued.*

Counties and Cities.	Poor generally.			Poor not receiving Parish Relief.			Poor specifically.			Total.		
ENGLAND.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Cumberland -	326	1	11	97	18	1	135	17	7	559	17	7
Derby -	2,091	9	7	101	5	5	1,076	19	5	3,269	14	5
Devon - -	2,117	17	11	676	9	11	2,014	6	2	4,808	14	0
Dorset - -	820	18	5	292	11	10	479	3	7	1,592	13	10
Durham - -	1,207	7	6	53	7	6	305	15	4	1,566	10	4
Essex - -	3,175	9	9	326	19	0	1,814	13	10	5,317	2	7
Gloucester -	2,235	7	6	413	11	0	1,266	13	6	3,915	12	0
Hereford -	731	4	10	108	0	6	711	8	1	1,550	13	5
Hertford - -	2,076	13	2	104	10	3	911	11	4	3,092	14	9
Huntingdon -	505	14	8	114	17	6	99	9	9	720	1	11
Kent - -	3,247	14	3	1,546	2	0	2,878	8	4	7,672	4	7
Lancaster - -	6,666	9	0	333	0	3	1,681	1	7	8,680	10	10
Leicester - -	1,630	18	1	338	11	2	740	14	1	2,710	3	4
Lincoln - -	6,247	7	7	341	7	5	1,335	13	2	7,924	8	2
London - -	4,921	17	2	147	16	0	2,405	13	1	7,475	6	3
Westminster -	582	7	7	1	12	0	167	15	6	751	15	1
Middlesex - -	2,937	9	2	515	2	8	2,571	15	10	6,024	7	8
Monmouth -	517	5	7	47	9	8	94	16	0	659	11	3
Norfolk - -	4,083	8	4	339	8	1	5,834	1	4	10,256	17	9
Northampton -	2,329	8	4	321	18	6	949	13	4	3,601	0	2
Northumberland -	847	1	5	9	0	0	41	18	0	897	19	5
Nottingham -	1,294	6	1	73	17	10	427	8	4	1,795	12	3
Oxford - -	1,706	17	2	143	18	8	1,265	1	6	3,115	17	4
Rutland - -	442	4	2	-	-	-	69	1	4	511	5	6
Salop - -	2,197	9	2	79	14	0	1,100	8	6	3,377	11	8
Bristol - -	501	12	0	68	4	0	642	6	9	1,212	2	9
Somerset - -	2,020	4	7	1,073	12	1	1,202	15	6	4,296	12	2
Southampton -	1,098	4	6	162	19	2	1,041	19	3	2,303	2	11
Stafford - -	2,498	15	10	447	6	2	1,407	3	3	4,353	5	3
Suffolk - -	3,228	12	6	151	19	6	2,571	5	3	5,951	17	3
Surrey - -	4,978	12	3	416	15	7	4,065	1	0	9,460	8	10
Sussex - -	818	19	3	87	16	6	750	8	4	1,657	4	1
Coventry - -	696	0	5	5	9	2	147	8	4	848	17	11
Warwick - -	2,856	4	7	260	16	4	1,213	3	0	4,330	3	11
Westmoreland -	860	11	10	104	17	2	216	13	4	1,182	2	4
Wilts - -	1,303	2	8	558	13	0	964	6	7	2,826	2	3
Worcester - -	1,920	5	2	131	18	7	1,495	14	2	3,547	18	2
York—												
East Riding -	2,273	2	10	148	6	0	748	11	2	3,170	0	0
North Riding -	1,589	2	6	84	14	6	232	19	0	1,906	16	0
West Riding -	4,383	2	11	389	5	11	675	13	5	5,448	2	3
WALES.												
Anglesey - -	201	7	8	-	-	-	49	1	10	250	9	6
Caernarvon -	173	13	8	-	-	-	138	6	0	311	19	8
Denbigh - -	955	5	2	14	10	0	271	9	11	1,241	5	1
Flint - -	267	6	2	-	-	-	253	17	6	521	3	8
Merioneth - -	173	13	1	9	0	0	56	1	0	238	14	1
Montgomery -	381	19	6	4	10	0	118	9	11	504	19	5
Brecon - -	182	1	0	96	10	0	94	19	6	373	10	6
Cardigan - -	3	10	0	-	-	-	7	0	0	10	10	0
Caernarthen -	165	12	6	3	0	0	45	19	1	214	11	7
Glamorgan -	177	1	4	66	10	0	111	19	4	355	10	8
Pembroke - -	195	1	0	-	-	-	45	8	8	240	9	8
Radnor - -	105	13	10	41	6	6	91	12	10	238	13	2
Total -	101,113	9	3	11,661	0	7	55,133	10	3	167,908	0	1

Evils.

The evils of such charities have been so often described, that it seems scarcely necessary to repeat the familiar story. In my former Report, the evidence on this subject, furnished by Mr. Miller, the secretary to the charity trustees at Bristol, sums up very completely the case against them. His experience is consistent with everything that has been said or written on the subject by the most intelligent persons. "There must be," says Dr. Chalmers, "a mockery in the magnificence of those public "charities which have not to all appearance bettered the cir- "cumstances or advanced the comforts of the people among "whom they are instituted beyond those of a people where they "are utterly unknown." The conclusions at which this divine and political economist arrived in 1823, namely, that the existence of public charities forms an "adhesive nucleus, around which the "poor accumulate and settle, that they are misled by vague hopes "of benefit from the charities which they fail to confer, and that "they occasion a relaxation of economy and of the relative "duties of parents, children, and relations, which is in the ratio "of the hope that is felt and not of the hope that is realized," are in conformity with those of the Bishops of London and Chester, and the gentlemen associated with them in the Poor Law Commission, as stated in their Report of February 1834. There is certainly much to be said in favour of the opinion that permanent institutions for supplying the common necessaries of life to particular classes by way of charity, and not as the reward of labour, are founded on a false principle, and productive of evil both to rich and poor. Such endowments may be tolerable when they are insignificant in amount, but certainly become mischievous in proportion to their magnitude. It is a striking fact that they do not diminish indigence. In the case of Salisbury, Mr. Hare seems to have established this conclusion. Applicants multiply as the charities increase. The poor are, by the hope of participation, diverted from seeking that employment from which any permanent improvement in their condition can alone be derived. In other words, they are demoralized. At Shrewsbury at the time of the distribution of the charities the applications for casual relief are doubled in consequence of the refusals to grant doles in certain cases; and in Salisbury, a city rich in charities, for *five* vacancies in the list of pensioners on one charity there were *sixty-two* applicants. This shows either great poverty or great want of independence.

In considering this question it must never be forgotten that the State has provided for all cases of absolute destitution. It is only the difficulties and privations arising from unexpected or inevitable misfortune that need relief; sums of money and articles of common use and necessity distributed at fixed times cannot meet such emergencies. It is only living charity, as Mr. Hare says, with its personal interposition and expansive means, that can measure the bounty to the need, and temper the gift by time, place, and occasion. The uncertainty of charity is its chief merit; and in the opinion of all competent witnesses one of the worst

features about these dole charities is, that they are almost always distributed at certain known periods. The probable recipients, therefore, look upon the gifts as a certainty, and reckon upon them—in fact, discount them. The gift is as much part of their income as a dividend. It does not induce them to exercise prudence. It simply relieves them from a certain amount of exertion.

It is, in fact, the very reverse of charity, which, if properly bestowed, never comes until some calamity has overtaken a man after every attempt has been made to escape from it. One illustration must suffice. I was told by a clergyman that in his parish an old lady had been accustomed to distribute flannel jackets and other things to the value of 20*l.* every Christmas. At length the old lady died, and the gift of flannel jackets ceased also. As soon as this became known, the poor people who were in the habit of receiving the flannel, applied to the clergyman, saying that they had been deceived. "If we had only known," they said, "that the flannel jackets would not be given this Christ-"mas, we should have saved some of our wages in the busy "time of the year, and provided our husbands with flannel for "the winter." They had reckoned upon the gift, and they had been tempted into imprudence. Had they not relied on the periodical distribution to which they had long been accustomed they would certainly have taken care to provide themselves with the flannel. But when the donor is long since dead, and the distributors are mere trustees, there is, if possible, less sympathy and gratitude than in the case just mentioned. The recipients know that the alms do not proceed from the bounty of the hand that bestows them. They regard the gift as a right, knowing that the trustee has a mere power of selection, a power the exercise of which, as Mr. Hare says, "generally awakens criticism and jea-"lousy in the competitors, criticism of the justice of trustees, and "jealousy of each other." In a large number of parishes, the curates say,—"These charities are managed by the church-"wardens, we are thankful we have nothing to do with them. "They are a constant source of heart-burning and contention." In confirmation of this last statement, we have the evidence of Mr. Martin upon the subject. After observing that there is a difference among the clergy with respect to the doles, he says: "I met with two clergymen whose charities were very con-"siderable, 200*l.* a year each, and they both of them told me that "they would rather have none"—one publicly, the other privately. So far as my own inquiries have extended, I find that the clergy are generally opposed to dole charities. There are, however, some singular exceptions. Thus, at Shrewsbury, a clergyman approves of the distribution of doles, although it is stated that as many as 200 or 300 are in the church at these distributions, the doors being forced open; that great numbers besides those on the list, chiefly women, enter; that there is plenty of noise and language not very proper for a sacred edifice; that there is often fainting from the crush.

Some dole charities vicious from their very nature.

(1.) In reviewing the various endowments for the poor, it appears that some are vicious from their very nature. The founder may be said to have created an endowment which must produce evil effects. Thus the Poor Law Commissioners in their Report of February 1834, say—"In some cases charitable foundations "have a quality of evil peculiar to themselves. The majority of "them are distributed among the poor inhabitants of particular "parishes or towns. The places intended to be favoured by large "charities attract, therefore, an undue proportion of the poorer "classes, who, in the hope of a trifling benefit to be attained "without labour, often linger on in spots most unfavourable to the "exercise of their industry. Poverty is thus not only collected "but created in the very neighbourhood where the benevolent "founders have manifestly expected to make it disappear." I have already mentioned the case of Popley's charity at Salisbury, and in my former report I mentioned the case of St. Leonard and St. Nicholas at Bristol. Probably the most striking case of a charity creating paupers, and demoralising the whole parish, is to be found in Herefordshire. This is commonly called the Jarvis charity, and the principal facts connected with it I relate on the authority of the charity inspector. Among other remarkable facts connected with it, the date of the foundation is 1793, not 70 years ago:—

Jarvis Charity.

"George Jarvis, who died in 1793, bequeathed the bulk of his property, which ultimately amounted to nearly 100,000*l.*, to the Bishop of Hereford and the two Members of Parliament for the county, upon trust, to apply the income amongst poor inhabitants of Stanton-upon-Wye, Bredwardine, and Letton, in money, provisions, physic, or clothes,* and he directed that no part should be employed in building.† The trust came before Lord Eldon in July, 1802, in a suit by the bishop and the trustees, who proposed to distribute about

* With some small exceptions he disinherited his child, grandchildren, and great grandchildren, on the ground of some offence he had taken to the conduct of the family into which his daughter had married. On the occasion of the sale of an estate belonging to his grandson, the representative of that family, for the purpose of paying off charges upon it, Mr. Jarvis was heard to say that he could "clear" his grandson's estate and make him "all right," but he would not do it. The late Mr. Holford, one of the Masters in Chancery, a gentleman of high character, who knew Mr. Jarvis in his latter days, and to whom he had declared his dissatisfaction with the family referred to, and his intention of leaving his property to charities, remonstrated with him and said, "The infant children of your grandson cannot have disobliged you;" but he was unrelenting.—*Depositions: Adams* v. *Twysden. Records of the Prerog. Court*, 1795. *Lambeth.*

† This form of gift is evidently framed upon the advice of counsel, in order to avoid the effect of that remarkable state of the law which has arisen from the Stat. 9 Geo. II. c. 36, and the decisions upon it. There is some reason to believe that Mr. Shadwell and Mr. Madocks, two eminent lawyers of that day, were consulted in the preparation of the will. If the testator had directed a school to be established, the Court would have held that he meant a site to be acquired, and it would have made the whole gift void; and the direction not to build may not improbably be traced to the strong expressions of Lord Northington, in *Attorney-General* v. *Tyndall*, 2 Eden's Reports, 213; where, in deciding against a bequest for purchasing land and building an almshouse, he referred to "donors who are indifferent in what species of charity they bequeath their money, whose motive is the gratification of their vanity, and not the service of the poor." Public attention had been called to the subject about the time this will was made by the case of the *Attorney-General* v. *Nash* (Brown's Chancery Cases, 588), in which a gift for building a school was held to be void.

5-100th of the income in physic and attendance; 33-100th in clothing, bedding, and bedclothes; 14-100th in fuel; and 28-100th in food. Of the remaining 20-100th they proposed that 6-100th should be applied in schooling; 6-100th in apprenticing; and 6-100th in gratuities to servants and apprentices. Sir Samuel Romilly, and other counsel,* argued that 'the court would not establish so mistaken a charity, which was in effect a premium to idleness; that it appeared, by the proposals of the trustees, that they could not dispose of it according to any intention of the testator, and that they, therefore, introduced other objects which he had not contemplated—instruction, apprenticing, and rewards of virtue.' The court, however, adopted the scheme, holding, with regard to schooling and apprenticing, that, as the trustees might give money to the poor, so they might employ the money for them in objects in which it was proper that it should be employed. 'As to the plan of the trustees,' said Lord Eldon, 'I have nothing to do with arguments of policy. If the legislature thinks proper to give the power of leaving property to charitable purposes, recognized by the law as such, however prejudicial, the court must administer it. If it is right to put bequests of personal property to charity under the same fetters as real estate, that is for the legislature; and courts of justice must act without regard to the impolicy of the law.'" †

"The anticipations of the evils which were likely to follow from these gifts were more than realized. The amount to be distributed was almost equal to that of the wages of the labouring population in the three parishes. The attraction was irresistible. The following table exhibits the progressive increase of inhabitants:—

——	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851
Stanton-upon-Wye -	430	512	514	544	548	586
Bredwardine - -	306	327	379	436	409	422
Letton - - -	124	150	163	200	224	214

In 1801, 151 persons in Stanton-upon-Wye, 89 in Bredwardine, and 80 in Letton, in all 320, appear, by the evidence in the cause, not to have been of the class of poor, and this number of the wealthier classes may be taken to remain nearly the same, in a district in which no commercial or manufacturing causes have arisen to increase the amount of employment, and no circumstances have occurred to render it in any greater degree the residence of persons at leisure or in retirement. The number of farms, as far as I can ascertain, is now rather less than it was. The pauper population had thus increased, in 10 years, upwards of 20 per cent.; in 20 years, almost 40 per cent.; and in 30 years, 60 per cent.‡ The distribution of 2,300*l.* a year in alms brought into the

* 7 Vesey's Reports, 328.

† This judgment is very important, as illustrating, from so high an authority, the principle on which the Court of Chancery must proceed in the execution of all lawful trusts without regard to expediency or policy.

‡ The population of the parishes immediately adjacent,—Winferton, Dorstone, Monnington-on-Wye, and Brobury, have during the same time diminished. In those parishes, including also Willersley, there were at the last census about sixty persons in number less than in 1801.

parishes, not labourers seeking employment where it was likely to be found, but persons naturally desirous of participation in gifts which could be obtained without labour. The landowners, or wealthy inhabitants, were not likely to make any provision for the residence of increased numbers, whose immigration they did not invite; but as habitations were necessary, the cottages became more crowded; houses not more than sufficient for one family were divided into two or more; and other dwellings were built, not the production of capital directed to the supply of a social necessity, or in situations adapted for the convenience of the employer and the employed, but built by the poor themselves, or those little above them, some on waste, and others in remote spots, with regard to little else than mere shelter. I will not venture to repeat the traditions which are current of the evils which this state of things created; but the inhabitants of the country round these parishes, who remember their state some years ago, are uniform in their testimony of the demoralization of which the poor were by this means made the victims. Their mode of existence is said in some respects to have resembled that alternation of want and repletion which is characteristic of the savage state. The absence of regular employment for so many persons often occasioned at times want and suffering, whilst the large quantities of food distributed at other times led to great excesses.* No habits of care or providence taught them to husband that which it had cost them no labour to obtain; and where poverty was the title to participation, there was little encouragement to that steady industry which could alone avert it. Idleness, discontent, and improvidence were found to be the fruits of this ill-conceived and ill-judged gift, to which must be added an immorality of life, the results of which are yet distinctly felt.†

"The trustees at the end of about thirty years altered their system of distribution, and ultimately an information was filed. The then Bishop of Hereford, Sir J. G. Cotterell, and Mr. Tomkyns Dew, by their answer in this suit, say, 'that in their opinion the charity has in effect been injurious to the parishes in which it is established, but such injurious effects are rather owing, as they believe, to the *largeness* of the income arising from the Charity as compared with the small population among which the same was to be distributed, than to the mode now pursued in applying the same.'

"The Court of Chancery, being unable to depart from the terms of the will, application was made to Parliament, and an Act was obtained in 1852."

The following observations made by the Inspector after a personal examination will show the condition to which the inhabitants of Stanton-upon-Wye had been reduced by the charity:—

"In that parish almost the whole of one, and not the least populous part of the parish, called 'Little London," owes its construction, it is believed, entirely to this charity. A number of wretched huts, built of timber and such other material as the place afforded, arose upon a spot of waste land, and received the significant name which it bears. I understand that these tenements are now let by the lord of the manor

* "It appeared that, on several occasions, as much as 120 lbs. of beef had been given at one time to a single family."—*Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry*, p. 182. As to clothes, they say, "the recipients were allowed to select the articles at their own discretion, without any restriction as to the description or *colour*."—*Id.*

† *See* the Registrar's Returns for the sub-districts of Weobly and Hay.

to the occupants at rents varying from about three pounds a year upwards. These hovels are closely intersected by open ditches of stagnant water, into which the drains, if there be anything deserving that name, flow. They are approached by pathways, which cannot be properly called roads. My visit happened to occur after an unusually long period of dry weather, but the paths or lanes leading to these dwellings were even then almost impassable. The internal accommodation is what might be expected from the cause which led to the buildings, and the condition of the builders. The sleeping places are generally upon an upper floor, the ascent being by a ladder, with little, if any, separation between the places appropriated to the parents, children, or different sexes. In one cottage I found a kind of rough boarding fixed across the middle of the room, with an aperture of about two feet square in the centre, which might be crept through by persons passing to the inner division of the room, and to which I could see no other access. In another part of the same parish an old farmhouse has been divided into dwelling rooms, as far as I could gather, for no less than five different families, in which the conditions of a healthy physical or moral existence are not less disregarded."

Although it will probably appear that the new scheme settled by the Court of Chancery under the Act of Parliament, to which I shall refer presently, has made some slight improvement, still it is tolerably clear that the mistaken principles upon which the charity is founded are by that scheme perpetuated. Amongst other things it is very remarkable that nothing whatever is done to improve the lamentable condition of the cottagers.

Draycott.

Again, at Draycott, in Somersetshire, I have myself seen a small village created in fact by a charity. In the neighbouring parish there is considerable difficulty in obtaining funds for a national school, whilst this charity, which, according to the report of the late Commissioners, "was found by experience to operate "as an encouragement to vice and indolence," still continues.

Smith's Charity.

Again, there is a charity, called Smith's charity, founded about the time of the Restoration, which, from its very nature, must produce, and does, in fact, produce, similar pernicious effects. Mr. Smith gave various sums of money to be distributed under a power to be executed by his trustees, and they, immediately after his death, appointed shares of the property to various parishes in England, and therefore, says Mr. Hare, I have met with portions, 25*l.* or 30*l.* of that charity, in various parishes. The property consists of the land round the Kensington Museum, Thurlow Square, Onslow Square, Pelham Crescent, and the Consumption Hospital. The business of the trustees is to look after the increasing family of the Smiths. For this purpose an eminent firm of solicitors keeps a pedigree of the Smith family. When any member of the Smith family wants relief, he applies to these gentlemen. They look to the records of birth and baptism. If children are to be put to school, so much is paid for that purpose; if children are to be apprenticed, so much is paid for that; if aid is wanted in old age, so much is paid by way of alms. It is calculated that the value of the charity will in time amount to 50,000*l.* a year. It may be observed that the money is not only distributed by way of alms, but is applied to apprenticeship and

other purposes. The effect, however, in either case is the same. To illustrate this, it seems that under this charity there is a provision for a decayed tailor of the family, and that a decayed tailor is never wanting; and there is certainly much truth in the remark of Mr. Hare, "that you will probably find an indisposition to be "too rich among the whole family of the Smiths." In the same way, according to Mr. Senior, there is a large provision for the Guy family, and it seems that there never was a Guy who was not a pauper. Again, in very many parishes there are distributions of bread after service. This is probably one of the worst conditions which can be attached to gifts. It is intended, no doubt, to promote religion—the danger is that it not only promotes hypocrisy, but excludes many poor persons who, although they do not, or in many cases cannot, attend Divine service, are still much more in need of the charity than those who obtain a share in it. To illustrate this I cannot do better than quote the letter of the Rev. William Poole, which the Dean of Hereford was kind enough to communicate to me. Mr. Poole says:—

Bread after Divine service.

"You asked me about bread charities. There were some at St. Leonards, and a great many at Lugwardine, which I could observe during the nine years I was in those parishes.

"At St. Leonard's the distribution came only twice or three times in the year; when every one came to church who could be considered poor, and who, not being poor, wished to "keep up a right" to receive gifts. A large portion came at no other time, or very rarely, and the result was, that the 50 or 60 loaves did not suffice, and if the clergyman did not add loaves enough to satisfy the claimants, ill-will to him, and jealousy towards the recipients, flourished for some time in great vigour; this I have often noticed.

"At Lugwardine it was worse—for there every Sunday in the month had its special 'charity,' and a certain number of labourers were appointed to receive on each Sunday; so many, whose turn came on the first Sunday of the month, so many on the second Sunday, and so on. If there came a fifth Sunday in the month, no bread was given. I could always tell when I went into church by a look at the "open seats" whose turn it was to receive the loaves. As a rule the recipients seldom came except one Sunday in the month, their own gift-day. And on the fifth Sunday of a month, I have sometimes seen the seats altogether or very nearly empty. Of course I don't accuse the bread of all this; but it certainly did not remedy it. My own impression was that the more independent labourers were repelled from attending church by the sight of this interested church-going; and I am convinced that by lowering the tone of feeling among the poor it is doing great mischief, far more than the good which the gift of bread can confer. In those two parishes, I should have no hesitation in saying that unpopular as the step would be, it would be a positive benefit to be rid of those charities altogether. Here (Hentland), on one Sunday in the year, buns and beer are left to be distributed in church after sermon on Palm Sunday. The beer is stopped; but the buns still make a joke for ill-behaved children."

In Wales, I am informed by Mr. Hare, that the effect of the Sunday distribution of bread at the churches is poetically expressed by a Welsh epithet, which describes the recipients as "the "disciples of the loaves."

(2.) Again, there are some cases in which the sums of money to be distributed are so large that fit objects of charity cannot easily be found. Such cases chiefly occur in populous places like the City of London, where the original value of the charity property has greatly increased, whilst the poorer classes have been compelled to emigrate to the suburbs. Two consequences follow; the first is, that persons linger on within the area of the charitable endowment, or crowd into it at particular times of the year, for the purpose of partaking in the charity, as was the case in St. Leonard's at Bristol. In this way the rents of dwelling-houses are raised beyond their market value, and the natural distribution of the population is interfered with. The second consequence is, that the charity trustees are compelled to admit persons to a participation in the endowment who have no real claim. Thus, in one parish, the population of which is about 1,150, and in which 800*l.* are annually distributed,* I was informed by a most unimpeachable witness that, notwithstanding every precaution, it was impossible to prevent persons receiving aid who stood in no need of it. On one occasion, on which the distribution was most carefully arranged, he said that out of 69 cases only 24 were really deserving. Amongst the persons relieved many drank hard. There was a carpenter, who was a bad workman; two were widows in no need of assistance; a man and his wife secured 2*l.*, though the husband was earning 21*s.* a week, and his daughter had married a civil servant in India, with a good salary; another case was that of a servant attending to offices; another man received his 40*s.*, though he held four cottages at a very low rent, which were always full; an omnibus driver received the same sum, though his wife was a housekeeper, and had lodgings without paying any rent; another man, who keeps a small shop, had 3*l.*; and, lastly, an idle workman received 5*l.*, although he was a ratepayer, and had a vote for a member of Parliament. Illustrations might be multiplied, but this may be considered a fair example. At the same time it should be observed that in this very parish there is a want of infant schools. The parish officers themselves seem to admit the necessity of some change, and various schemes have been propounded. But in discussing these schemes it is very apparent that there is a strong desire to keep the property of the parish for parish purposes. So far as I could gather, the most popular plan would be to apply the money intended for the benefit of the poor to relieve the local taxation. But it is obvious that any such appropriation would be even a greater violation of the founder's will than an extension of the area, so as to include the persons originally contemplated by him.

Doles too large for the objects.

(3.) There are other cases in which the charity tends to keep labour in particular channels after the demand has ceased. In Dorsetshire the Williams' charity supplies the income of a considerable estate, out of which funds amounting to 66*l.* a year are

Tendency of doles to keep labour in particular channels.

* In this same parish a building now let for 200*l.*, will be relet within a few months at a rent of 900*l.* This sum will either fall to be distributed among the so called poor, or application must be made to the Court of Chancery for a new scheme.

distributed to the clothiers, serge-makers, linen weavers, stuff-makers, and felt-makers. Upon this it has been observed that:—

"The distribution to the artificers may afford occasionally a seasonable relief to deserving men, but is sometimes claimed as a matter of right by tradesmen in comfortable or even flourishing circumstances, and the trustees have not felt themselves at liberty to refuse the application. So far as it operates as a bounty on the particular trades in question, its influence, though no doubt trifling, may be considered mischievous. In fact it appears that even in the lifetime of the surviving executor of the testator, a complaint to this effect was made by the magistrates of all the three towns."

"I have already mentioned," adds Mr. Hare, "that at Bland-"ford this 8*l.* a year is given to a hatter, a master tradesman, and "to each of his two sons, persons quite as well off as most of the "other tradesmen in the town. It seems, moreover, that the "trustees exceed their powers by giving 8*l.* instead of 5*l.* only to "the objects."

Difficulty of administering doles, and consequent abuses.

(4.) But the chief ground upon which money doles ought to be condemned is the difficulty and necessarily capricious nature of the administration. To give money, because it is asked for, to those who can do without it, promotes hypocrisy or destroys self-dependence. In plain English, it tends to create liars or slaves, and probably both. These seem obvious truisms. Nevertheless I find it stated by Mr. Martin, that he heard it laid down by a person connected with Fulbourne in Cambridgeshire, and the doctrine tacitly endorsed by some of the trustees, that charities should be given to all alike, and that no distinction should be made between an industrious deserving man and a drunkard. I presume the same principle would probably be upheld by the clergyman who approved of the money being distributed in the midst of a riot. However there can be no doubt that there are plenty of wretched creatures in the world thoroughly deserving both of sympathy and pecuniary aid. But there is no less doubt that such persons cannot be discovered without some inquiry. Ten minutes' conversation with any relieving officer of experience is sufficient to prove the necessity of careful selection. As Mr. Martin says: "I am quite convinced that the charities might be "made to do an immense deal of good if they were so admini-"stered as to prevent deserving persons, who by accident had "been brought to want, from having recourse to the poor laws, "from coming in contact with what I have heard some people call "the unclean thing—to keep them from becoming paupers. "But," he adds, "the difficulty is to get trustees who will take "the trouble to administer them properly."

There is, in fact, no middle course; either the mass of mankind must be fed and clothed, or some test must be applied according to which the really destitute may be separated from the impostors, and some person must be found who will apply that test justly.

Booth Charities.

In a large population, by excluding all under a certain age and by strict inquiry, it is quite practicable to confer great benefits upon deserving persons; thus, at Salford, the population of which is 70,000, there are the Booth charities, the results of which are

that in the year 1858–9, 1,855*l.* were distributed in cash, and 180*l.* 8*s.* in blankets, shirts, counterpanes, flannel, and linsey. I have not personally investigated any one of the cases relieved, but I was told by some persons locally interested, and who had access to the best information, that great pains were taken to select fit objects. This opinion is certainly confirmed by the strict manner in which the persons "recommending the nomination" are questioned, and by the fact which I found recorded, that almost all the persons upon the list of recipients are above 60 years of age. However, it was admitted that very many more applications were made than could be attended to, so that (as I have been assured in other places) much valuable time must be lost in canvassing for a nomination; besides which, I was told that out of 200 unsuccessful applications only 120 could be considered as fit objects. I was also told that about 67 per cent. of those relieved would have obtained sufficient relief through private sources to keep them out of the workhouse had there been no Booth charity. With respect to those, therefore, the charity seems only to have the effect of relieving persons from moral obligations which they have incurred towards their fellow-creatures. As to the remaining 33 per cent., I was informed that were it not for the Booth charities the persons included in this category would be upon the parish. At first sight the effect of this would appear to be simply a means of relieving the poor rate; but at the same time there is one good effect which ought not to be overlooked. I am assured that many friends and relations are ready to contribute towards the support of these poor creatures so as to prevent their coming in contact with what has been called "the unclean thing," namely, the poor-law. And in other parts of the country, as at Parson Drove, a hamlet of Leverington, in Cambridgeshire, in which its charities are restricted to those who do not receive relief, Mr. Martin was told of instances in which people struggled hard to keep off the parish, and were enabled to do so by means of such charities. If this be so, it may be contended that whilst the ratepayers are relieved the poor are also benefited without being degraded. On this point, however, I should add, that Mr. Hare, in reply to my question, writes thus:—"I feel a "strong objection to any test, which in the distribution of these "charities draws a line between those who have, and those who "have not, received parish relief. Since the Poor Law Amendment "has made legal relief properly dependent on destitution, such a "distinction is neither just nor merciful. Administrators commonly like it, because it substitutes an easy inquiry for a "laborious and painful scrutiny. Such arbitrary and mechanical "rules are coverts for the indolence with which most minds "approach the performance of duties towards masses of persons "with whom they are not connected by individual sympathy or "attachment. Can there be any code of charity which shall restrict the precept, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.' "It excludes alike the thoughtlessness which is niggardly, as well "as that which is profuse. The blessing is not to him that giveth, "but to him that *considereth* the poor."

But the care exhibited in the distribution of the Booth charities must depend upon a combination of fortunate circumstances, of which neither the permanence, nor the frequent occurrence, can be expected; and, according to the evidence both of Mr. Hare and Mr. Martin, there is, generally speaking, no discrimination whatever. Indeed, as I have already observed, this want of care is in some cases adopted as a fundamental principle.

Instances of doles badly distributed.

The following may serve as illustrations. In Exeter, as in other places, there are sums to be distributed in bread, meat, and money. It appears that in 1857 tickets for bread and meat were distributed to as many poor people as they would reach. In one case the churchwardens were surrounded almost by a mob, and they were compelled to throw the remaining tickets amongst them. The parish in question is the largest and poorest in Exeter. The poor number 2,000 or 3,000.

Again, Evans' gift, which was founded in the year 1618, is a rentcharge of 20*l.* to be applied towards the maintenance of the poor. It is distributed in bread. On Christmas-eve, the Inspector of Charities says, a quantity of bread is given away at the church. The bell is rung for a quarter of an hour, and hundreds of persons assemble at the door. They are of both sexes and of all ages, and are admitted one or two at a time into the church, those first who are nearest to the door. They are asked where they live, and when it is ascertained that they live within the parish, they receive one or two loaves according to the number of the family. It is altogether a scene of violence and disorder.

In St. Stephen's parish, Exeter, there is the Countess of Pembroke's gift, founded in 1654. The Countess gave a close of land value 12*l.* to apprentice one poor boy or girl. The surplus to be distributed to the most needy and indigent. The income is now about 50*l.* The population of St. Stephen's is about 480. The trustees adhere only to that part of the original will which refers to the place of birth within the parish. No applications in the instance quoted were made by boys, but three girls were apprenticed to dressmakers, one was the daughter of a flyman, another of a cabinet-maker, a third of a tailor. As to the distribution of bread in 1857, a sum of 7*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*, and in 1858, a sum of 6*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*, was distributed in bread. In 1858, 53*l.* 12*s.* 11*d.* remained in the hands of the treasurer. It is to be observed that there is no school whatever in St. Stephen's parish.

In Leonard Foster, in the City of London, there is Smith's alias Crane's gift, founded in 1638. The endowment consists of the fourth of a house for poor that do not take alms, and the sum amounts to 5*l.* 17*s.* In the last year, 4*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.* was given by the churchwardens to four different persons, two of whom, named Ravenscroft and Sefton, are stated to be men of desperate character. They occasionally apply to the churchwardens, and threaten to break their windows and destroy the property if they are not relieved. By this means they create a riot, which the officers are glad to appease by acquiescing in their demands. Sometimes they go into the workhouse, but they soon obtain their discharge, and resume their career of intermittent work and idleness.

At Bewdley, two money gifts, known as the Mill and Meadow money, amounting to about 90*l.* a year, are given to all applicants without regard to character or circumstances, at the sole discretion of the beadle. In 1858, a sum of 89*l.* 7*s.* was divided among 438 families, being about 4*d.* each.

In Canterbury, there is Lovejoy's charity, part of which is to be applied to "poor, ancient, and sick people not receiving relief." The following list of recipients will show the mode in which the founder's intentions are carried into effect: — Canterbury.

Convicted felon	1	
Brothel keepers	4	
Drunkards	18	
Other bad characters	17	
	—	40
Paupers	36	
Occasional paupers	18	
	—	54
In good employment, or not needy		51
Total improper objects		145
Inmates of hospitals, pensioners, &c.	8	
Mechanics, labourers, tradesmen	124	
Persons who may be proper objects	—	132
Respectable poor and deserving persons		110
No information respecting		113
		500

Again, Streynsham's charity in St. Dunstan's parish, Canterbury, now producing 116*l.* a year was to be employed for poor housekeepers and their children inhabiting St. Dunstan's, so as to keep and comfort the parents, clothe the children, and fit them for service. The charity is given chiefly in sums of 5*s.* The following list of recipients for one year illustrates the mode in which the will of the founder is obeyed: —

Poor	33	9	in receipt	also of Lovejoy's gift.
Paupers	21	4	,,	,,
Well off	13	3	,,	,,
In constant work	40	14	,,	,,
Drunken and bad	7	3	,,	,,
Labourers	17	4	,,	,,
Shoemakers, tailors, and small shopkeepers	7			
Postman	1			
Sexton	1			
Groom and footman	2			
Smith	1			
Doubtful	2			
	—150			

Reading

At Reading a sum of 120*l.* is given away among the poor of the town. In 1855, 130*l.* was given away by the overseers of the poor to 894 families. It is said that persons belonging to Reading come from London to receive the gift. The distribution is said to be universal and indiscriminate. Even the donor's directions that the merits as well as the necessities of the recipients shall be regarded are altogether overlooked. One parish officer described the course adopted by him in distributing the gifts by saying that "none go empty away." In the list of recipients in another parish in Reading there were found the name of one woman who carried on the trade of a fortune-teller; of a man who lived by his wife's prostitution; of a woman frequently drunk in the streets, who having been suspended from the list was restored rather prematurely, as she came for her dole in a state of intoxication. It appears that in the evidence taken by the Commissioners as to the administration and operation of the Poor Laws (1837), preceding the Poor Law Amendment Act, particular reference is made to the mischievous effect and abuse of the Reading charities. But the abuses appear to be still unreformed. These instances are chiefly derived from the evidence of Mr. Martin; and Mr. Erle, the chief Charity Commissioner, distinctly says that this species of Charity is given indiscriminately. He says: "You find people throwing away "great sums in distributing a shilling or a sixpence to each "one of 300 or 400 persons who come to claim it as a right; any-"body who chooses to call himself a poor person receives, under "that indiscriminate and mischievous distribution of charities, "just the same benefit as any poor person who really wants it." Again, it seems that at Stafford one old recipient of clothes on her death left an accumulation of three years' petticoats not made up, and the same thing was mentioned to me by a Welch clergyman as having happened in his neighbourhood. It is hardly necessary to confirm by authorities my opinion as to the evils of indiscriminately distributing charities, but upon this subject Sir James Kaye Shuttleworth makes the following remarks. After quoting the final report of the late Commissioners of Inquiry to the effect that "indiscriminate distributions occasionally create con-"siderable riot and disturbance, and the money received is often "expended at public houses in the neighbourhood," he says:— "Rather than follow so pernicious a custom, the trustees have "transferred the income annually to the churchwardens and over-"seers in aid of the parish rates. In cases in which this has not "been done, some rural parishes have been morally ruined by the "mal-administration of such charities. Though huts have accu-"mulated on the common, the rent of cottages has risen to three "or four times their value; so that on opposite sides of a road, at "the parochial boundary, similar dwellings have let for 2*l.* and 9*l.* "per annum, according as they were within the parish or not. In "this way the charity operated as a benefit to the owners of cottage "property. Bastardy and felony have increased. Beer-houses have

"been multiplied, and the population generally become so corrupt "that the neighbouring clergy and respectable laity have de- "clared the parish to be a public nuisance. Yet without an "expensive suit in the Court of Chancery, in which the relator "would be exposed to the utmost violence of public odium, if not "to the risk of property or life itself, evils so monstrous could "not be corrected." It is singular that some of these very effects were produced by the present Mayor of Manchester propounding a plan for the purpose of transferring part of Clarke's fund to education.

Personal examination into the Mayor's Charity, Manchester.

In order to form some idea of the mode in which money and clothes are distributed, I determined to investigate one case upon the spot. The plain truth is, that I found it impossible to rely upon any evidence I could collect, even from the very best sources. Amidst the somewhat sharp discussions on the subject of these doles, I found scarcely a single individual who had personally investigated the state of things, though each side confidently relied upon evidence the most contradictory. It happened fortunately, that at the very time when I was prosecuting my inquiries a dispute had arisen with respect to a great endowment at Manchester, the Mayor's, or the late Clarke and Marshall's charities. The town clerk had been in correspondence with the Charity Commissioners in regard to a scheme which had been propounded by the Mayor of Manchester for the purpose of appropriating a certain portion of the charity income to the support of a ragged school. After a vigorous debate in the Town Council, the Mayor's proposition was approved by a small majority. I do not propose to enter upon the question whether the scheme of the Mayor was good or bad. I simply propose to show the manner in which the charity is at present administered, so that the Commissioners may form an opinion whether the intentions of the founder are in any respect carried into effect.

The charity in question consists of an annual sum of 2,260*l.* to be distributed "to poor, aged, and needy or impotent people at "the discretion of the borough reeve, constables, and church- "wardens." Since the date of the inquiry made by the late Commissioners the income has increased by about 400*l.* a year, and on the 29th of September 1859 there was a balance at the banker's of 3,771*l.* The area within which the charity is to be distributed is the township of Manchester, which I was informed by the Poor-law officers contains 200,000 persons.

For the purpose of investigating this charity, I had every facility through the kindness of Mr. Heron, the town clerk, and Mr. Rickards, the chairman of the board of guardians; I took the opportunity of personally visiting the houses of some of the recipients of the charity. Besides, I procured a very considerable number of the papers, being the forms of application, and containing the particulars filled up. With these papers before me, I questioned the relieving officers whose duty it is to ascertain (so

far as they are able) whether the applicants are fit persons to be relieved. These papers are distributed among the ratepayers, who fill up the blanks. It must be confessed, however, that even if the papers were filled up correctly they would not furnish such information as would exclude all but fit recipients. The earnings neither of father, mother, nor children are stated, and, therefore, even upon the face of the paper, it is quite possible the applicant may not be in want of charity. It is true that the relieving officers revise the list of applicants, but, in the first place, it is impossible for these officials to make a satisfactory report in the time allowed. How can seven persons examine accurately into 9,000 or 10,000 in four weeks? In the ordinary discharge of their duties the relieving officers are often obliged to watch night and day in order to detect imposition. In the second place, even those applications which have been pronounced by them unfit, are notwithstanding constantly entertained. The person upon whom reliance is placed in the distribution of this charity is the recommender. If he makes no inquiry into the character of the person recommended, or if he does not exercise a honest judgment, the charity must get into the hands of the undeserving. Now, I was told that the practice is defective in both respects. On the one hand, the recommender generally does not visit or even know the person recommended; on the other hand he or she knowingly recommends the wrong person. Thus, out of 400 nominees visited by one officer only a third was found to live in the place of residence indicated. Out of 13 visited in one street only 3 were found. Out of 400 visited by another officer only two-thirds were found. Indeed, it is by no means uncommon to find that the person recommended has been dead for years. In some cases I observe that the very name of the nominee is not stated. The practice seems to be to leave a certain number of tickets with some of the chief manufacturers, superior shopkeepers, or bankers, who distribute them amongst their men, to be filled up. Again, it must be observed that all ratepayers are entitled to tickets, and amongst them there are a considerable number of petty landlords, small tradesmen, and beer-house keepers. Such persons distribute the tickets amongst their customers or tenants, without any reference whatever to their merits.

I examined 105 of the nomination papers in presence of the relieving officers, and I found that in some cases the names were fictitious; in others relations had recommended their relations; in others the persons recommended were drunkards or of bad character; in others they were in receipt of considerable wages and unfit objects of charity. To come to particulars, it appeared that 30 cases out of 105 were able-bodied men and women under the age of 46, many of them between 17 and 30. As a further illustration of the want of proper inquiry, I may mention this case. A woman in the receipt of 6*s.* per week from the Poor Law Board, but living by selling oranges, nuts, shell-fish, &c., at dram-shops and public-houses, obtained three different

recommendations under three different names from three different persons.* None of the recommenders knew the woman, but they kept the public-house vaults where the woman sold her oranges. Another officer reports that he has lately thrown out a recommendation made by a son for his father whom he was liable to maintain, although the son is the proprietor of works, and employs various hands.

But probably the most singular thing is, that there is no proof whatever the article ever reaches the hands of the person recommended. The relieving officers whom I examined say:—

"Persons recommend themselves or they recommend others without consulting them, and have the charity left at their own homes to be conveyed from thence to the persons named in the form, but who never get them. The middlemen among the handloom weavers do this, sending in the names of individuals who are lodging and working in their houses, and whose beds they then supply with blankets, counterpanes, and sheets. It is not intended that any person should have more than one recommendation per year, but some are thus recommended for all the classes of articles distributed, and get them."

The various evils incident to the present mode of distribution are detailed in a letter published by Mr. C. H. Rickards, the chairman of the board of guardians, than whom, I believe, no man knows better the principle upon which charity ought to be administered. "It is hardly necessary," he says,—

"That I should refer to the principles which should govern the disposal of charitable funds, feeling assured that you, in common with myself, are of the opinion that the public health requires that imposition should, as far as possible, be prevented, and all practicable means taken to ensure such investigation as would ensure that none but those who really require assistance should receive it.

"I may say that the facts I now submit have been obtained from the most experienced officers of our board of guardians; men in whose integrity and judgment I have great confidence, and whose only motive in this matter is, I believe, to promote the public good.

"I am told that there is, as a rule, but little visitation of the cases by those who recommend them. It would appear as though some persons are in the habit of keeping lists of the names of those to whom they have given recommendations in former years, and that when they receive the blank forms from the Town Hall, they refer to their lists, fill up the forms from them, and send them back without any inquiry into the then existing circumstances of the persons recommended. Recommendations have been sent in for persons who have been dead for years, as well as for others who have been removed to their place of settlement by the parochial authorities. So slight is the attention paid by some of the ratepayers, that, year by year, they recommend the same persons, although their forms are annually set aside by the relieving officers, some of the persons recommended being dead, and others who are not considered proper persons to receive assistance. One woman was recommended who was 'wanted,' having deserted her children. The relieving officer naturally thought that he could have her apprehended at the house stated in the form, and at which she was said to be residing, but upon calling there he found that she had not resided there for two

years; and upon asking the recommender, he admitted that he had not seen her for the same period.

"I am told that some of the persons who procure the forms take but little care to prevent them from falling into improper hands; so that, ultimately, an improper person might by this negligence receive the benefit of the charity.

"As there is but little preliminary investigation, it often occurs that one and the same person gets several recommendations, and the relieving officers of the township of Manchester, by whose knowledge alone a large amount of imposition is detected, cannot always, having numerous other and equally important duties to attend to, prevent such persons from receiving assistance from the charity, as, for instance, John Jones will get a recommendation for his own residence in No. 1 relief district, and another for a fictitious one in No. 7, and may so arrange that only by repeated visitations can the officers discover the deception. One case was discovered in which a man had no fewer than eight residences. The changes are rung, too, upon streets of the same name in different parts of the town.

"The present blank form is thought to be defective. It is said that it does not give sufficient information, it only asks for the amount of the man's own earnings, and the number of children under 10 years of age. The man's own wages may be only 10*s*., but his children above 10 years of age who are living with him may be earning 30*s*. a week more, yet they are not mentioned."

After detailing other defects, he says,—

"I have, I believe, shown that the ratepayers, as a rule, do not properly investigate the cases they recommend; that the visitation by the relieving officer, from causes before mentioned, does not, in some instances, secure a proper inquiry into each case; that some of the ratepayers use the recommendations for the promotion of their own advantage, rather than for the objects of the charity; that persons reported by the relieving officers as unworthy of receiving assistance from the charity, yet do receive it, and that the form of recommendation does not require sufficient information as to the means of the applicant."

Whether any better mode of distributing this large fund, I will not discuss. Certainly it appears that the present system is grievously defective. No doubt the same defect exists elsewhere, and indeed the mayor's charity is selected merely as an illustration. But in every such case the result is that the population is debased and pauperized. Probably what I find recorded in a little book, "The Missing Link," concerning the Bread Street ward, in the city of London, is not less applicable to Manchester. Speaking of one of the committee for administering the benevolent fund of that ward, the author says—"Exploring by the aid of a city missionary, "and also with his own eyes, the interiors in Saddler's Place, "White Lion Court, Leather Seller's Buildings, Carpenter's "Buildings, Peartree Court, &c., he found the character of the "neighbourhood to be such as it generally is, when the poor are "accustomed to receive abundant help from the rich without "much investigation. The well-meant and frequently repeated "dole of charity, so called, only renders the receivers improvident "hypocrites and ungrateful rogues. Dirt, drunkenness, and

" beggary are the results of sovereigns indiscriminately showered " over those who are happiest if they receive shillings, and work " for them."

In looking over the recommendation paper at Manchester, I found that the 105 applicants have amongst them 103 children under ten years of age. Nothing is said as to whether these children are or are not at school, although it is obvious that nothing furnishes a better test of respectability than the care which is bestowed on children. I cannot help thinking that no one who has children should be allowed to share in these dole charities, unless they send their children to school. In this Manchester case, it is clear that if the parents do not send their children under ten to school, they must be in the streets undergoing the ordinary and effectual training for young thieves. If they do go to school, they no doubt attend a National or a British school, which receives aid from the Government. Now I find that in Manchester there are 39 inspected schools, and that within the last 26 years these schools have received aid to the amount of more than 32,899*l.* The mayor of Manchester distributes more than 2,000*l.* a year out of the charity in question, it is obvious that if only 1,260*l.* had been applied out of the 2,000*l.* during 26 years, the whole Government aid would have been all but made up. If then it be true that the poor and needy are entitled to the benefit of the mayor's charity, and if every deserving person, however poor, is above all things anxious that his children should be educated, the question naturally occurs why Parliament should be called upon to supply the very means which are amply supplied from sources such as the mayor's charity—especially as at present that charity is usually spent in demoralizing the people.

How dole charities may be used to promote education.

III. We now approach the administration of charities and the changes required in the present system.

1. In administering charities everything depends upon the trustees. If they are active, vigilant, and honest, the foundation, however defective in principle, is generally made the instrument of good. If they are indolent, sectarian, or injudicious, the foundation, however excellent, becomes the instrument of evil. There are no charitable trustees who seem to display a more earnest anxiety to administer the funds commited to their charge with justice and liberality than the trustees of Bristol, and nowhere is it more easy to obtain any information which may be desirable. Moreover, Bristol is one of the very few places where so great a reform as that of converting the bread and money to purposes of education could have been carried with the actual co-operation of the parish. These gentlemen thoroughly understand the nature of their duties, and the difficulty of adequately performing them. And yet, in conversing with their chairman, I was repeatedly told that the difficulty of excluding improper objects was almost insuperable, even when persons devoted the whole of their time to charitable distribution. But such devotion is by no means universal. The trustees generally consist of the principal inhabitants

in the neighbourhood, with no special reference to their aptitude for the office.* The consequence is, that the trustees are very inactive, and, in rural places especially, they are actuated by motives not of the most elevated character. So negligent do the trustees appear to be, and so forcibly have the evils arising from negligence struck the Charity Commissioners and their inspectors, that they have devised various means to correct these defects. I have already alluded to Mr. Hare's opinion. Mr. Martin speaks of "the effect of having what are called ornamental trustees, who "never attend," as a point of great consequence, and Mr. Erle dwells upon the want of some power to get rid of inactive and useless members, and to appoint others. In one case, in a town south of London, it appears that out of eight trustees, one lives in Nottingham; the average attendance is only three and a half, and four of them have only attended five times between them in the last ten years. At the school of Wotton-under-Edge, which has already been mentioned, out of six trustees, one is himself the master of the school in question, two are absentees, one is dead, so that only two are possibly efficient. It has been suggested, both by Mr. Erle and Mr. Martin, that a register should be kept of the attendance of the trustees, and that if they are proved to neglect their duties, they should make room for others. Besides this stimulus to exertion, however, it is clear that something more is required. In regard to educational charities there is little difficulty. If the system of nomination were abolished, and the foundations were opened to the best boy, as the foundations of Eton, Winchester, and the scholarships of Oxford and Cambridge are now open, it is obvious that trustees would be prevented from preferring demerit to merit, and would be compelled to promote education to the utmost extent. But even if this open system is not pursued, it is still possible, by constant inspection and examination of the schools, to prevent the masterships being converted into sinecures. All that is needed would be a power in the Charity Commissioners to examine the endowed schools, and to dismiss the master, if found less competent than he ought to be.

Costs.

I shall have occasion presently to refer to the cost of proceedings in the Court of Chancery, and it appears that the expenses connected with the appointment of trustees are singularly extravagant. The opinion is general among those able to judge that the Court of Chancery is not at all fitted to undertake the duty of appointing new trustees, and, indeed, this jurisdiction the Court has acquired, as it were, by an accident. But however this be, the appointment of trustees by the Court has not only occasioned a heavy expense to the charity funds, but it has too often multiplied the sources and aggravated the bitterness of party and political antagonism. The evils of being compelled to make application to the Court of

* Mr. Hare, in his letter to the mayor of Salisbury, which is printed in the Appendix to his evidence, discusses the whole subject of trustees and the evils of the present system.

Chancery were much aggravated by the Municipal Corporation Act. The old corporations having been abolished, it became a question who were to be in future the trustees. The case was treated as one in which the succession of trustees had failed, and therefore it devolved upon the Court of Chancery from time to time to appoint new trustees. A slight examination will, says Mr. Hare, show that this system, besides being costly, and liable to the social evil I have adverted to, is otherwise inconvenient, uncertain in its results, and liable to great abuse. The number of nominated trustees is by this means very irregular. It is the habit, in order that expense may be saved, to discourage frequent applications, and the consequence is, that the body is usually reduced to a half or a third of its number, or even less, before any application is made to the Court, and of course it must be purely an accident whether the most judicious and discriminating members of the body ultimately form the small minority of the survivors. I will suppose, however, the number to be reduced to four or five, and that some vigilant inhabitant or some active solicitor thinks it time to prefer a petition to the Court of Chancery for the appointment of new trustees to fill up the body. What are then the steps that follow? I quote Mr. Hare: –

"I must premise that the court commonly gives what is called the carriage of the order, that is the initiative in all the proceedings, to the solicitor of the persons who present the petition. This may seem a very unimportant matter, but it is a point of no less consequence than this,—that it in truth gives him the nomination of all the trustees who are to be appointed; for that nomination can only be displaced by showing that it proposes persons who from connexion, character, substance, position, or some other cause, are disqualified for the office. The influence which thus attaches to the position of the petitioners has, of course, the effect of occasioning a contest for priority. This is commonly the case when political feeling is strong. No sooner is it suspected by one party that a petition for new municipal trustees is in agitation by another, than steps are taken to present a counter-petition, and put forward a counter-list. It thus becomes a race between the solicitors for the several parties. One party having at length succeeded in getting before the court, the surviving trustees have then formal notice of the application, and appear as respondents. The respondents may possibly submit to the new appointment, if their party or that of the majority of them should have been successful in the race, but if not, or if they should be dissatisfied with their proposed coadjutors, they will probably oppose it, perhaps on the ground that they are perfectly competent to administer the trust, and that the application is therefore premature. The parties appear before the court by their respective solicitors, and are supported by their respective counsel, and the Attorney-General, as representing the public, appears in the like form. I will suppose the court to hold the application to be properly made, and now comes a contest of affidavits. The petitioners and their friends depose that the persons they nominate are fit and proper persons to fill the office. It is thought necessary to make a vigorous effort on the opposite side. The respondents file affidavits to show that the persons on the proposed list or some of them are very unfit persons to be selected. A is too old,

B is too young, C is too infirm, E lives five miles from the borough, F is not in independent circumstances, and G is a Roman Catholic, or a Unitarian, or a Socialist. The petitioners reply to this by further affidavits, proving that the nominees are all of them the most active, vigilant, independent, and orthodox or pious of men, and that the deponents who have denied them these virtues are actuated by feelings of mere malice or animosity, or perhaps that their characters and motives are such as to deprive them of weight. This attempt to discredit the respondents' witnesses calls forth rejoinders and leads to endless collateral issues, fruitful in rousing sources of contention and disturbing the peace of the community to which they relate. In one town, having a smaller number of charities than Salisbury, I found that the costs of these contests in Chancery since the passing of the Municipal Corporation Act, had been upwards of 1,200*l.*, and I believe that they will in many cases be found to have been still more. A praiseworthy effort has lately been made by the solicitor of the Attorney-General to reduce the amount of the outlay in such cases, by refusing his fiat, without which the petition cannot be presented, except upon condition that the parties to the application agree upon the names of the trustees before they come into court or accept a list chosen or filled up from such local knowledge as he may happen to possess or acquire. A great saving of litigation and expense is no doubt thus effected, but it is impossible not to see that this course of proceeding is open to grave objections. So long as the country is fortunate to have an Attorney-General who is himself above, and who acts by a solicitor also superior to all political bias, such a power will not be abused; but it is evidently capable of great abuse in less scrupulous hands. And even if it were certain that no political bias would ever interpose, the very regard to political impartiality is most likely to lead to the selection of trustees, not because they are persons in all respects best suited for the office, but because they fairly balance and represent the political parties into which a borough may happen to be divided. A member of the body who knows that he has been elected on party considerations or as the representative of certain opinions may not unnaturally think himself bound to attend to party connexions or claims in the distribution of the charities, and this there is every reason to fear is frequently the case. In every point in which it is viewed the existing system of appointment appears to me to be pernicious. The possession of the qualities of sound judgment, enlightened intelligence, adequate leisure, and active benevolence, should be the ground of the appointment, and the question whether their possessor be a Whig, Tory, or Radical is a foreign and disturbing element in the consideration.

"The selection of the trustees of other charities, either by the survivors or by the Court of Chancery, is open to equal difficulty. If it be left to the court similar objections will for the most part apply, and if the selection be made, as in common cases, by the survivors, there is no security that persons will be selected who are qualified to administer the charities, or in whom the public can or ought to have confidence. It is common to find that the trust estate, sooner or later, comes under the control of a few persons, often of the same family, or otherwise connected with each other. I have discovered charities which, by these devolutions of the trust, have become absorbed by single families. It frequently happens where trustees are appointed at the instance of an active administrator, who is jealous of the power or influence of the office, that the choice is made, not of persons disposed to devote their

attention to the administration of the charity, but precisely because they are not likely to interfere with it. I must, of course, be understood to speak in the abstract of the tendency which in course of time it found to be the result of the power of self-election, and not of the existence of any such feelings or intentions in the present administration of any of your charities; and, in truth, some of those most ready to listen to and adopt improvements have been trustees having power to appoint their successors.

"I will mention a recent instance of the expense and loss to which the charities are subject under the present system. At the time of my inquiry at Salisbury, it had become necessary to expend more than a year's income of Newham's gift,—a considerable charity for the benefit of the poor of St. Martin's parish,—in the legal proceedings for obtaining a representation to the last trustee, and thereby procuring a transfer of the fund."

I have been asked whether trustees are likely to co-operate in carrying into effect schemes for improving the charities. The answer to this question will vary with the locality. In such a place as Bristol I have little doubt that any carefully considered scheme of improvement would be fairly discussed and probably carried into effect. In that city the trustees almost court inquiry, and are glad to accept of any suggestion in the way of improvements, but in London the case is very different. Except in the two cases of Lancashire and Yorkshire, Middlesex (including of course part of London*) has derived more aid from the Parliamentary grant than any other county. The charities are enormous, and whilst their value has greatly increased, the objects have greatly diminished. In an inquiry, therefore, with respect to the amount of educational work done by endowments, it was of the utmost interest and importance to investigate the condition of the educational charities of this metropolis. Having had every facility afforded elsewhere in the inquiry which I was directed to make, I hoped that the same facilities would be accorded in the city of London. Queen Elizabeth's Hospital, at Bristol, and Christ's Hospital stand on precisely the same footing. At Bristol the trustees most cordially co-operated in my inquiry, but at Christ's Hospital the governing body declined to afford me any assistance. One ground alleged for the refusal was that this Hospital does not come within the scope of the Education Commission, because it is not intended for "popular education." This plea deserves consideration.

What says the charter? Pitying the miserable estate of poor fatherless persons, and also thoroughly considering the honest, pious endeavours of the mayor, commonalty, and citizens of London, who by all ways and methods diligently study for the good

* But, it is very important to observe, excluding the City of London and its charity schools. Very few, if any, of the city schools receive aid. The reason is obvious. They have no want of money (endowments), and they are nervously jealous of inspection. This jealousy seldom exists when the endowed schools are thoroughly good. I may add that I have been assured on excellent authority, that many of the Ward schools, with their clothing and endowments, are in a most inefficient state as to instruction and discipline, and this even in parishes which have a large poor population.

provision of the *poor and every sort of them*, and that by such reason and care neither children yet being in their infancy shall lack good education and instruction, nor when they shall attain riper years shall be destitute of honest callings or occupations, whereby they may honestly exercise themselves in some good faculty and science for the advantage and utility of the commonwealth, King Edward VI., in the year 1553, established "this most excellent "and most holy foundation." It was further endowed by Charles II., and by many private benefactors, until the annual income exceeds 60,000*l.*; but in every one of the deeds of endowment which I have examined the benefits are to be conferred upon the poor. If such a foundation as this was not intended to promote "popular education,"—to aid the very poorest in the realm in instructing their children, it is difficult to understand what object the founders contemplated.

But the course of practical management seems to some extent consistent with this theory. None of the parents are above the middle rank of life, many occupy the position of petty tradesmen, and even of servants. The Hospital has accepted gifts on condision of admitting boys from the ordinary parochial schools. I have personal knowledge of cases in which boys have been transferred to the Hospital from British schools where they paid 2*d.* and 4*d.* a week. Apprenticeship fees are paid for the children on leaving the Hospital, and in the year 1859, they amounted to the sum of 1,005*l.* at the least. These facts, as it seems to me, conclusively prove that Christ's Hospital was intended to be devoted, and is in fact to some extent devoted to the promotion of "popular education," to instructing, amongst others, the very class of children who attend National and British schools, and is therefore strictly within the scope of this Commission.

Taking then the only criterion in my power, namely, the readiness of trustees to co-operate in this inquiry, I should fear that in some, and those influential quarters, a reluctance to concur in measures for extending the benefits of endowments will be found.

Conclusion. Having proceeded thus far, I pause for a moment to sum up my results. With respect to charities directly founded for purposes of education, I have endeavoured to show that many of them are not so useful as they might be, and I have attempted to point out the causes of those deficiencies and to suggest a remedy. With respect to those not directly founded for educational purposes, I have endeavoured to prove that whilst all of them were established for the benefit of the deserving poor, they are in some cases bestowed upon unworthy objects, in other cases left idly to accumulate, and in others positively misapplied. It seems clear,—therefore, that as to the former, the existing area should be extended, and that as to the latter, a new area should be created.

I assume that the class of persons for whom charities are intended is confined to those who are just above the rank of paupers,—the class maintained by the State,—and yet have not sufficient means to supply themselves with those physical comforts and that mental cultivation which the charities may enable them to obtain.

Charity is well bestowed which enables a respectable man or woman broken down by age or misfortune to keep clear of the rates,—charity is ill bestowed which encourages people to live by idleness and importunity instead of by industry and prudence. Charity is well bestowed which assists parents to educate their children so as to fit them to earn a living or to serve the State,—charity is ill bestowed in maintaining and educating the children of parents who are quite competent to maintain and educate the children themselves. The early history of the Foundling Hospital shows the danger of too easily releasing parents from the natural obligation of caring for their offspring. Even orphans are not all fit objects of charity.

Changes required.

Acting upon these principles, the question is, what changes are required in order to render the charitable funds as extensively useful as possible.

In order to produce this result several things are required.

As to educational charities,—

(1.) Except in a few special cases the parents or relations should supply the children with clothing, and should contribute something towards their education. Even although the boarding should be retained, the number of children under education would be greatly increased.

(2.) Facilities should be afforded for combining the smaller endowments.

(3.) The area within which money devoted to education is now applied should be extended, and, if necessary, changed. Endowments, instead of being either allowed to accumulate or employed to aid classes in the education of their children who need it not, should be bestowed upon neighbouring districts which stand greatly in need of it. And, considering the enormous and increasing demands on the Parliamentary fund, this change is especially needed.

(4.) The masters should be thoroughly competent to discharge their duties, and for this purpose some system of inspection and examination should be organized.

(5.) Following the precedent set by the public schools, such as Eton, Westminster, and Winchester, the pupils should be admitted upon the foundation, not by patronage, but by open competition. Whilst no children except those who were really desirous of improvement would obtain admission, the contest would indirectly stimulate education down to the lowest ranks. It would be necessary, still following the precedent set by the public schools and the university, to abolish all restrictions with respect to place of birth and kindred. The clothing if retained, should be the prize of competition. The experiment has been tried in some cases, and has succeeded. Treated in this way the clothing may be made the nucleus of a large day-school. As at the University, the clothed boys are "scholars," the others "commoners."

(6.) The sort of education supplied in endowed schools should be of a kind to suit the requirements of those for whom the endowment was created. Where the master is required to be a graduate

of the University by the founder, the trustees, with the consent of the Charity Commissioners, should be enabled to appoint a master holding a certificate from the Committee of Council if the annual funds do not exceed 150*l.*, such master not to be of necessity in holy orders.

As to those charities not originally founded for education, such as funds for the poor, for loans, for apprenticeship fees, and for almshouses, there seems no reason why they should not be made to contribute to education. All of them were intended for the benefit of the poor, and the question is whether that object can be better promoted than by aiding education.

(7.) With respect to the funds dedicated to the poor, it is abundantly clear that, generally speaking, the administration is so imperfect, and the distribution so careless, as rather to degrade than relieve the recipients. As for persons broken down by age or illness, yet struggling to keep off the rate, these ought certainly to share in these charities. But, excepting such cases, no one with children should be allowed a farthing unless they show their respect for themselves and the community by sending their children to school.

(8.) If it be true that the sums devoted to loans and apprenticeship fees are generally useless, there seems no reason why they should not be devoted to education, which besides being a charity the least liable to abuse, would greatly relieve the general taxation of the country. With respect to apprenticeship fees there is a special reason for such an application. Without education an apprentice cannot take advantage of his master's instructions, whilst with a good education the apprenticeship fee is superfluous.

(9.) The remarks which I have ventured to make upon almshouses is rather to illustrate the waste of money and the abuses to which such institutions give rise, where the proper distribution of charity is not guarded by self-interest. But even in the case of almshouses, if it should appear that by the abolition of sinecures and a mode of administration at once more economical and more agreeable to the poor themselves, a considerable sum might be saved, there seems no reason why the surplus should not be applied to aid the poor in educating their children and in diminishing the Parliamentary grant.

Necessity of some general plan for administering charities.

2. But even if additional funds were obtained by an improved and more economical administration, some general system of applying them would still be required.

With respect to those applicable to education, with which I am particularly concerned, there seems to exist at present no general idea as to the machinery which ought to be employed for educating the people, or as to the part which endowments ought to fill in the general design. Now it appears to me that every child in this country ought to have the means of acquiring the rudiments of education, and those who, however humble, exhibit remarkable genius for intellectual pursuits, should have the means afforded them of gratifying their natural bent. To aid as far as possible in this great design, should be the chief object of charitable endow-

ments. This surely was the intention of those who originally founded the thousands of schools throughout the country. They desired to reward those who displayed industry and intelligence by enabling them to indulge in their favourite pursuits, and at the same time they desired to glorify the commonwealth, by civilizing the masses and recruiting the learned professions and the public service from the ablest men of every rank. This design has at present been sadly disregarded, but I see no reason to doubt that it might even now be realized. Only apply the same liberal principles to all charitable endowments which have lately been applied to the public schools, to the universities, and to many departments of the public service—allow the same scope to merit among the lower classes which is now allowed to the upper classes and the same results must follow. Do this and, besides strengthening that spirit of independence and self-reliance which is the only antidote to the spirit of indolence and pauperism, the cause of education will not only be promoted, but the claims on the public purse will be greatly curtailed.

In order to illustrate the want of system in the administration of public charities, and how they are consequently wasted, take the case of Exeter.

Comparison between Exeter and St. Thomas, Charterhouse.

It appears, according to the Charity Inspector's report that at the time of his inquiry the whole educational endowments amounted to 2,800*l.* a year. Besides this it appears that 1,000*l.* a year might be derived from other charitable sources for educational purposes. Now what is done with this 3,800*l.* a year, towards educating the children of a population of 30,000 or 40,000 souls? The outline, as it were, of a complete educational system, to meet the wants of every class exists, but that outline has to be filled up. There is a free grammar school, at which those boys who desire superior education, or to proceed to the Universities, may acquire the requisite information. But then at the time of the inquiry (1858) there were only 2 boys the sons of freemen; 55 boys of the middle classes paying eight guineas, and 26 boarders, 83 in all. This endowment therefore does nothing which would not be equally done without it. The same school affords a commercial education to 100 boys of the middle classes, at a charge of 1*l.* 1*s.* for the younger and 2*l.* 2*s.* for the elder children.

As to the endowed schools more especially designed for the poor, the Blue school educates 110 gratuitously, of whom 25 are wholly maintained; upon this the Inspector, after admitting that the trustees exercise their important patronage "with as much care "and discretion as such patronage is usually exercised," says:— "At the same time there is no question that the education of from "80 to 100 boys, free of expense, does materially interfere with "the self-sustaining operations of the other schools for the poor "in Exeter."

The episcopal schools educate 160 boys and 120 girls, and Wotton's school, in the parish of St. Mary Arches, provides for the education of 54 free boys.

The Inspector, indeed, says, "that those funds (meaning 2,800*l.*),

" in addition to those of the national schools and schools self-
" supporting or supported by voluntary contributions, if dealt
" with systematically, and made auxiliary to instead of conflicting
" with each other, would afford a most complete means of sup-
" plying the best education of these times both to the rich and
" poor in Exeter." Nevertheless, it appears that the 3,800*l.* a year educates no more than 627. Nor is it unimportant to add, that during the last 26 years Exeter has received 7,051*l.* from the Parliamentary grant.

Now, contrast this state of things with that of St. Thomas Charterhouse. I have already described the character of that district. There is no reason to suppose that the same sum of money should educate a very different number of children in Exeter from what it does in London; at all events, the difference, if any, cannot arise from the greater poverty of Exeter. Now, I find that at St. Thomas Charterhouse, according to the last statement of account (1860), there were 2,865 pupils in the day and evening schools. The sum of money spent during the year in the support of the school, salaries of masters, &c., was 2,973*l.* But of this, 1,303*l.* 13*s.* 1*d.* was supplied by the school pence, paid by the poorest people in London, and about 1,110*l.* was supplied by the Parliamentary grant. At Exeter, then, I find 627 children, with fixed annual resources amounting to 3,800*l.* At Charterhouse I find 2,865 children, with a Government grant of 1,110*l.* I have confined the contrast to endowments on the one hand and Parliamentary grant on the other. Exeter is much wealthier than St. Thomas Charterhouse, and the population is not so poor. It is therefore quite as competent for Exeter as for Charterhouse to obtain money out of the pockets of subscribers and the parents of the scholars, so as to supply the difference between 1,110*l.* and 2,973*l.*

This state of things needs a remedy. The educational machinery must be re-organized, and the following proposals, which have been made and approved of by persons of experience, appear to be founded on common sense.

Plan for the systematic administration of the educational charities.

3. (1.) There ought to be four classes of schools.

a. Schools for infants, boys and girls.
b. Superior day schools.
c. Evening schools.
d. Schools for the middle classes and the cleverest boys in the superior day schools.

(2.) To this first or local school (*a*) any boy or girl should be admitted on payment of the weekly pence. The very poorest might be excused.

(3.) To the superior schools (*b*) none would be admitted except those who could read, write, and cipher according to a fixed standard; every scholar would pay except those who were very poor. This school would contain those who were willing to remain somewhat longer than usual under tuition. As the withdrawal of children from school at too early an age is the great

difficulty to meet, it is proposed that to this sort of school should be attached certain exhibitions of 5*l.* or 10*l.* a year, which should be bestowed on the best scholars. The candidates would be required to be of a certain age and to have attended school a certain time in order to entitle themselves to these prizes. The money for such exhibition might be derived out of those funds for apprenticeship loans and doles, which have been proved to be either useless or demoralizing.

(4.) To the upper schools (*d*) would be admitted the sons of the middle classes upon payment of a reasonable fee, eight or ten guineas a year, and such of the boys from the superior schools (*b*) as might prove themselves the best in an examination.

These would correspond to the foundation boys at the public schools, and to the scholars at the universities. They would have their education, and sometimes their board, free, but their clothing would be supplied by their parents. In some very special cases clothes might also be supplied. Not only the free grammar schools throughout the country, but such institutions as Christ's Hospital in London and Queen Elizabeth's School at Bristol, would be recruited by boys selected by open examination.

(5.) The evening schools (*c*) would supply education to such of the boys and girls as had left school, and desired to improve themselves.

Such is the educational machinery which I venture to suggest, or rather it is that which has been suggested by others, and of which I cordially approve. It has many advantages. It meets the wants of every class of society. It multiplies scholars, because for every educational prize there will be many candidates, instead of one nominee. It will assist none but those who are willing to assist themselves. It restricts the benefits of intellectual culture to those who can best take advantage of it. It will draw forth from obscurity many a brilliant intellect which must otherwise waste its power in neglect and indigence. Lastly, it will go some way to put an end to that separation between the upper and lower classes, the rich and the poor, which does more, perhaps, to prevent an efficient and economical system of education than any other circumstance.

Changes required.

4. But these proposals require extensive changes. Now the only means by which any alterations can be made in charitable endowments is by an application to the Court of Chancery, or, in cases beyond its jurisdiction, to Parliament. Neither of these tribunals, however, are at all competent to deal with so vast and complicated a subject as the charities. With respect to the Charity Commission, it has no power to effect any change—it can only suggest and approve.

Court of Chancery expensive;

(1.) As to the Court of Chancery, it is too expensive, and even if it were less expensive it is incompetent to deal with social subjects. When it is considered, on the one hand, that out of a total of 28,880 charities there are 17,972 under 10*l.* a year, with an aggregate income of 58,187*l.*, and, on the other hand, that no charity under 10*l.* a year has ever been recovered by the action

of the Court of Chancery without disappearing in the process, it is obvious that for the smaller charities which constitute the majority there is practically no legal protection. Some moderately cheap jurisdiction is quite as much needed for the smaller charities as was once the case for the smaller debts. According to Mr. Erle the proceedings of the Attorney-General are expensive necessarily; there is great opposition to them, and great difficulty in the case of small charities in setting the Attorney-General in motion. Even in the County Courts the expenses of adverse proceedings are increased relatively to the value of the small charities. "As a general rule it may be laid down," says Mr. Senior, and his opinion is supported by others, "that the "instant a charity not exceeding 30*l.* a year becomes the sub-"ject of a suit it is gone; one of 60*l.* a year is reduced one "half; one of a 100*l.* one third. The prudent friend of such a "charity will submit to see it mismanaged to any extent short "of the destruction of all its utility, rather than risk its ultimate "annihilation by the ruinous protection of the Court." Mr. Martin has paid particular attention to the expenses imposed upon charitable funds by the necessity of applying to the Court of Chancery, and states that the question of costs is always one to which he particularly directs his attention. He has furnished the following list of costs in various cases:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
In Attorney-General *v.* Corporation of Ludlow -	20,929	15	10
In the case of Coxe's almshouses, Ludlow -	2,015	15	9
Appointing municipal trustees, Ludlow - -	776	12	8
„ new trustees - - - -	131	8	10
„ municipal trustees at Shrewsbury -	798	14	7
Scheme in Millington's hospital there - -	336	0	0
Appointing municipal trustees at Sandwich -	63	10	8
„ „ „ Bewdley -	69	14	4
Costs in the case of Bewdley Grammar school -	377	12	6
„ „ Jesus hospital, Canterbury -	1,095	4	8
Changing the site of Reading Blue Coat school -	457	12	4
Part of cost in the Shrewsbury Grammar school -	921	14	4
In the case of Queen Elizabeth's Estate, Stafford -	1,033	9	6
Appointing municipal trustees, Stafford - -	244	10	1
„ new trustees and scheme for school -	397	7	4
Scheme for the school at Wolverhampton about -	800	0	0
Costs in Mrs. Anne Cam's Charity, before 1807 and 1837, nearly - - - - -	2,000	0	0

On reference to the report on the Sons of the Clergy, vol. 32, part 6, page 855, it will be seen that this charity was administered in Chancery, and the annuitants approved by the master. It is remarked in the report that the keeping of the fund in Court occasioned a useless waste of money, and an unprofitable consumption of public time. The charity is still in Chancery; the accounts, though applied for, have not been rendered to this office, and the amount of recent cost cannot be ascertained.

To these I may add that at Ledbury of the 9,000*l.* raised for the improvement of St. Catherine's Hospital, 3,974*l.* 7*s.* 9*d.* was spent in obtaining leave to make the loan. In the case of Anne

Wick's charity for the poor the scheme cost 559*l.* 9*s.* 1*d.* In another charity for Communion plate the costs were 727*l.* 7*s.*; and in the same case to get 62*l.* 6*s.* 7*d.* out of Court, the costs amounted to 48*l.* 19*s.* 7*d.* I hoped to obtain some further information from the firm of Raven and Bradley, who are, I am told, the solicitors for this branch of the Government business. I made the attempt, but I was unsuccessful.

and incompetent.

But the Court of Chancery is not only extremely expensive, it is also incompetent, or rather, it is by its character unfit to deal in an enlightened spirit with those charitable foundations which require new schemes. I have already alluded to the case of St. Dunstan's in the East, where the unappropriated charities will soon amount to 3,000*l.* a year. At the time when Mr. Hare made his report there seemed to be some idea of applying to the Court of Chancery for a new scheme, upon which that Inspector—himself a Chancery barrister—made the following remarks:—He says, if proposals be laid before the Court, it is very possible that they may be adopted, and may thenceforth possibly remain an obstacle to any enlarged scheme which may hereafter be laid before Parliament for the application of the charities of London to the moral improvement of the poorer classes of this vast metropolis. Any present proposal for a school will most likely be established on principles which will confine its benefits within certain limits or certain classes, or restricted to the patronage or nomination of particular trustees, or otherwise create obstacles to the general diffusion of its benefits which will practically exclude the neglected children of the poorest and most ignorant, for whom it is necessary not only to open wide the doors of our instructional institutions, but to make them appreciate the advantages they offer. It is in this partial, local, and fragmentary manner that the schemes for nearly all our endowed schools are framed. Again, with respect to almshouses, there is little doubt that if such institutions were established the benefits would be confined to persons of this particular parish, with the ordinary results of inducing people to spend their lives in spots unsuited to their industry or exertion, for the purpose of preserving their claim to admission. The constitution of the Court of Chancery makes it the proper authority *for enforcing the execution of trusts, but not for solving problems in moral science or determining the great questions of social and charitable economy;* and even if it possessed materials for this great function, the subject is only presented to it in a detached and unconnected manner, which renders it impossible for the Court to lay the foundation of any great institutions for the moral advancement of the poor and ignorant classes. It is, moreover, necessarily and properly restricted to an almost servile obedience to or a scarcely less servile imitation of the directions of donors, who lived perhaps centuries ago in another state of society, or bound to confine its attention to a particular locality, spot, or class, as if there was no world beyond that narrow sphere. Little benefit, therefore, can be hoped for in any scheme emanating from such a source, and this induces me in all cases rather to advise the

suspension of any proceedings for dealing with these unappropriated funds until some general and extensive principles can be enunciated and established by a competent authority.

Sir W. Perkins' School.

In the case of Sir William Perkins' school at Chertsey, the Court of Chancery settled an impracticable scheme in 1819, which was never carried into effect. But the costs of procuring it amounted to 2,898*l.* In the case of Ludlow, the scheme in operation, which was settled by the Court, and under which the charities of the place are governed, does not work.

Exeter.

The city of Exeter (which has been already referred to for another purpose) is well furnished with charitable endowments, and supplies an illustration of the necessity of some tribunal more competent than the Court of Chancery to deal with them. In that city there are specimens of every variety of charity. There are endowments for all the miscellaneous purposes usually found in the charities of great cities, to assist in most of the chief events, and alleviate nearly all the calamities of life, as well as to provide for the decencies of sepulture. The charities mentioned in Mr. Hare's Report comprise most of the ancient, and many modern objects of philanthropy. They include the education of youth at school and at the university, their apprenticeship to trades, marriage portions for maidens, loans to set up artisans and tradesmen in their business, funds for the support of the fabric and ornament of churches, for maintaining lectures to be delivered therein, for upholding bridges, for assisting poor citizens to meet their share of the public burdens, doles to be distributed among the poor, of money, bread, clothing, and all the various necessities of life, baths and washhouses, provision for the sick in hospitals and dispensaries, almshouses for the residence of the aged and distressed, food for maintenance of prisoners whilst in confinement, and shrouds for the bodies of those who suffer death on the gallows. It may be observed that these charities comprise nearly every variety of gift or endowment to be found in the Reports of the Charity Commissioners.

Now of these gifts many have become unnecessary by the changes in the state of society and in the administration of the laws. The loans of funds to freemen to assist them in their business (Spicer's gift), and which were therefore for the encouragement of industry, have been converted by the authority of the Court of Chancery into merely eleemosynary gifts to freemen without regard to labour, and however well intended are rather an encouragement of idleness than of diligence, and this, as Mr. Hare says, is "a fair example of the cy-pres doctrine." The prisoners in the jails are now amply supplied with food, and condemned criminals are decently buried. The gifts for these purposes are therefore otherwise applied.

A large income, which Mr. Hare reckons at not less than 1,000*l.* a year, is at present disposed of by the trustees to the best of their judgment for want of a scheme for its application proceeding from competent authority. This large sum might, it seems, be applied in some beneficial manner for the poor of Exeter, if any scheme

for these parties could be devised. The endowments to which Mr. Hare alludes are Magdalene Hospital, Calwodeley's, Spicer's, Seldon's, and Tuckfield's charities. As in the case of St. Dunstan's so in this case Mr. Hare, though perfectly acquainted with the powers of the Court of Chancery, advises that no application be made to that tribunal. It seems that even at Exeter the Court has sometimes, instead of enlarging, narrowed the scope of the original gift; that gifts have been appropriated to particular trades which have since migrated from Exeter, that the trustees are now in fact as much hampered by the restrictions of the Court of Chancery as they were once hampered by the terms of the original foundation. Experience, in fact, seems to show that the interference of the Court of Chancery is a positive evil—not merely because it is ridiculously extravagant, but because the judges, however learned in the maxims and precedents of law, cannot be expected to have studied, or to have arrived at any concurrence on the more difficult principles of social science, or in their practical application. The judges, moreover, naturally and properly shrink from resorting to such principles, as too speculative allies for positive jurisprudence.

The necessity of providing some substitute for the Court of Chancery in charity matters is no modern discovery. It was urged years ago by the old Charity Commissioners, and it is urged by the present Charity Commissioners.

Parliament. (2.) When the Court of Chancery is too weak recourse is had to Parliament; but for the purpose of remodelling charities it would be difficult to select a worse tribunal. It seems to be impossible to get a Bill, embodying any new scheme, through Parliament where there is the slightest opposition. The result is, that almost all such Bills have been either abandoned or rejected. When Mr. Erle, the Chief Commissioner, spoke to Sir George Grey about passing a most important scheme for Coventry, he was told that it was quite hopeless to attempt to carry any Bill which received much local opposition. He said, "You must select the "Bills which you think will receive any local opposition, and "you must abandon them all." Accordingly, says Mr. Erle, "at one swoop I think three or four Bills were struck out, and no "measures were taken on them." The result is, that the Charity Commissioners have almost discontinued proposing schemes to Parliament; and, certainly, when the manner in which their proposals have been treated is considered, their reluctance to propose such Bills is by no means surprising. Take the case, as related by Mr. Erle, that occurred last year to Newcastle. There is a charity in that town producing 1,500*l.* a year at present, and capable of considerable improvement when the leases fall in. That charity is applied in this manner. There is a church at Newcastle, or a chapel, the services of which are to be provided from this sum of 1,500*l.* a year. The municipal corporation of Newcastle may assign to the clergyman who performs the duty of that chapel a salary of from 100*l.* to 300*l.* a year, but 300*l.* is the maximum, therefore there is 1,200*l.* a year remaining. The

Newcastle scheme.

naster of the hospital receives a moiety of that income, and the emainder is divided among three brethren of the hospital. '*But he hospital itself does not exist. There is no building whatever; herefore the mastership is an entire sinecure.* "The corporation, ' in defiance of our remonstrances," says Mr. Erle, "appointed ' the vicar the master, so that he receives 600*l.* for doing nothing. ' We found that it was an old leper foundation; that scrofula ' greatly prevailed at Newcastle; and the result of a very ' extended inquiry by our inspectors was that the most beneficial ' application of this fund would be to establish a sea-side branch ' of the infirmary for the relief of persons suffering from that ' particular disease. We proposed a scheme to Parliament; it ' was referred to a Committee of the House of Commons, and, ' without hearing us, it was in a moment thrown out. It was ' passed by the House of Lords after examination, and with- ' out any alteration whatever. But the House of Commons ' rejected the scheme on this ground, that it was within the ' power of the Court of Chancery to effect the same without any ' communication with us, although it is clear that the Court ' of Chancery had no such power as that supposed. Indeed, ' only a few years ago, in the case of another charity at New- ' castle, held under a charter from the Crown, and conceived in ' almost the same words, the Court of Chancery reformed it up ' to a certain period at an expense of more than 12,000*l.* But ' the Court, considering that in this charity, which depended on ' a charter drawn up in words very similar to those of the former, ' it had no power to effect all the objects, directed a private Act ' to be obtained. Nevertheless, the House of Commons, adopting ' a view directly contrary, without any consideration rejected ' the Bill prepared after great consideration by the Charity Com- " missioners."

Coventry case. Again, in the Coventry case, the scheme proposed by the Charity Commissioners was rejected by Parliament. "I believe," says Mr. Erle, "that every branch of the charity, as proposed by us, " would have conferred great benefit on Coventry." And he adds significantly, " we were told so before by persons very much " interested in Coventry, who afterwards violently opposed the " scheme without any change of circumstances." It is a notorious fact that Coventry is not only extremely rich in charities, but that they are used for political purposes. It would be an instructive fact, if it should turn out that the members for the borough were very active in their opposition to any alteration in the distribution of the doles, and such endowments. It is certainly alleged with confidence that the political opinions of those in whose hands the distribution rests form a very material element in calculating the chances of the success of a candidate at a borough election.

Dulwich. But even when the scheme is not absolutely rejected, it is often so mutilated as hardly to deserve the name of a reform. Thus, in the case of Dulwich college, it was found necessary in consequence of the great local opposition to confine the benefit of the endow-

ments to certain London parishes, instead of extending them as widely as possible, a modification which, according to the Charity Commissioners, would have been highly expedient.

In other cases, Parliament has sanctioned schemes which, whilst violating the original intention of the founder, tend to perpetuate the very evils which it should have been their purpose to remedy. Of this sort of legislation I shall give three remarkable instances.

The first case is that of the Jarvis charity, the demoralizing effects of which have already been described. Here was a capital of 100,000*l.* (before the costs of Chancery had reduced it), to be distributed amongst a population of 1,200 persons. These parishes had become the scandal of the country. The wretched and disgusting hovels in which the people lived and brought up their children prevented the possibility of improvement. If there be anything in the principles which the most enlightened philanthropists have laid down with respect to the poor, if any conclusions can be drawn from experience, four changes were absolutely essential. First, the charity ought *not* to have been confined to the three parishes, so as artificially to attract a population within a particular district. Second, the physical condition of the population ought to have been improved by improving their dwellings. Third, gratuitous education ought not to have been furnished. Fourth, the distribution of doles ought to have been put under great restrictions. Jarvis Charity.

In the scheme, however, which is now being carried into effect, and which the Dean of Hereford does not hesitate to call "preposterous," every one of these principles has been studiously ignored. Henceforth, according to this new scheme, the gifts in food, clothing, and fuel, are restricted to about 16 per cent. of the income, *the discretion not to build is abrogated*, and provision is made for the erection of houses for twelve aged and infirm persons. The most important element, however, in the new scheme is a provision for building schools in each parish, and two *boarding schools* in Stanton-upon-Wye, one for 30 boys, and the other for 30 girls, between the ages of six and sixteen, who are to be maintained and clothed at the expense of the charity. There is also a provision that a sum not exceeding 250*l.* a year shall be allowed for apprenticeing and advancing in life the children from the schools; and it contains a somewhat parsimonious extension of the advantages of the charity to the poor of the neighbourhood, permitting so many children from the parishes of Monnington-upon-Wye and Brobury, as the trustees shall think fit to attend the day and infant schools upon paying for their education.

It appears that some 30,000*l.* is now being spent upon the boarding houses for the benefit of the children of 1,200 persons living in the utmost physical degradation. It has been asked whether these children, when dismissed from the boarding school are to return to the wretched hovels of their parents, or whether there is to be any vacation during their school career? In either case how are they to escape the evil influences to which they would be exposed? The Dean of Hereford says, "the testator expressly

" directs in his will that nothing shall be spent on brick and " mortar, yet the present trustees are spending in building alone, " under the authority of the Court of Chancery, sanctioned by " Parliament, not less than 25,000*l.* or 30,000*l.*, but at the same " time the new scheme limits the charity to the population of three " small parishes, so small that so large a charity can scarcely be " otherwise than mischievous, interfering with the wages of labour, " as it does in this case, they being about 2*s.* a-week below those " of the neighbouring parishes, and making the charity supply " the place of a poor rate."

" Surely," he adds, " the prospect of doing good instead of harm, " would have equally justified an extended application of the funds " of this charity, in part at all events, in supplementing the wants " of education in the parishes in the county, although not expressly " mentioned in the will of the testator, as in spending so much in " bricks and mortar, which is expressly forbidden." The population of the county of Hereford was in 1851, 115,489 souls, and during the last 26 years the amount of aid towards education received from Parliament was 17,337*l.* 14*s.* 4¾*d.* Six years' income of the Jarvis charity alone would have done more than supply the sum granted to assist in the education of Herefordshire. If the evidence I have adduced is correct, Mr. Jarvis' 3,000*l.* a-year has been employed in demoralizing 1,200 people. In this case, therefore, it seems that by means of Parliament and the Court of Chancery part of the charities in Herefordshire are at a considerable expense employed to neutralize, if possible, the efforts which Parliament is at the expense of nearly a million a-year, making to elevate the condition of the independent labourer.

Howell's Charity.

The next case is that of Howell's charity. In the year 1540, Thomas Howell, by his will, made at Seville, left 12,000 ducats to purchase 400 ducats of "rent for evermore." These 400 ducats were to be dispensed " unto four *maydens, being orphanes—next of* " *my kynne and of bludde—to theire marriage—if they can be* " *founde—every one of them to have* 100 *duckats—and if they* " *cannot be founde of my lynnage, then to be geven to other foure* " *maydens, though they be not of my lynnage, so that they be* " *orphanes, honnest, of goode fame and every of them* 100 *duckats* " *and so, every yere, for to marry four maydens for ever.*" If four were not sufficient to absorb the income, each maiden getting 100 ducats, then the four were to be increased at the discretion of the Master and Wardens of Drapers' Hall.

In 1543, the Drapers' Company, to whom the money was bequeathed as trustees, purchased premises in London, and the Company covenanted to dispose of the rent to and for the marriage of poor maidens, being orphans, at the discretion of the Master, Brethren, and Sisters of the Drapers' Company for the time being.

In 1559, the first year of the reign of Elizabeth, a suit was instituted against the company by certain poor female orphans, who claimed the benefit of the charity, and a decree was made by which the company were ordered to devote the whole rents (after

deducting 21*l.* for expenses) to the four orphans of the blood of the founder, to be ascertained in a particular way pointed out, and provision was made for an increase of the orphans' portions if the rents happened to increase. It should be observed that the certificate that the orphans were of Howell's lineage was to be made by the Bishop of Llandaff for the time being; and it is remarkable that this certificate of the Bishop was the first connexion which appears between the church and the charity.

"By the decree of 1559," says Mr. T. Falconer, who has written an interesting statement of this case—

"By the Decree of 1559 it was ordered that a certificate should be annually made of four orphans out of the pedigree certified by the order of Cardinal Pole, and 'that the said certificate should be made by and from the Bishop of Llandaff for the time being.' When this order was made the see of Llandaff was vacant, and it remained so for three years—the vacancy being terminated in 1560, when one Hugh Jones was appointed to be bishop. The object of this certificate was not to transfer any interest in the charity to the Bishop of Llandaff, but because Monmouthshire being in the diocese of Llandaff, a bishop in those days was one of the best public officials to be referred to on the subject of the family connections of a Monmouthshire family."

"In the year 1593 another order of the Court of Chancery was issued, the Lord Keeper Puckering directing the certificate of the Howell family to be made by and from the Bishop of Llandaff for the time being and by four, three, or *two Justices of the Peace* of the COUNTY OF MONMOUTH, the Dean and Chapter of Llandaff to act instead of the Bishop during the vacancy of the see.

"Probably this last order was occasioned by the orphans of the Howell family being unable to procure the certificate of a bishop of Llandaff respecting their descent when the order of the year 1559 was made. The fact, however, that Justices of the Peace of the County of Monmouthshire were associated thereafter with the bishop in making the certificate, is remarkably significant. It demonstrates that in 1593 the chief descendants of the Howell family were to be found in Monmouthshire, and it further proves that the Bishop of Llandaff, or the Dean and Chapter of Llandaff, had no more interest in the Charity than the *Justices of the Peace* of the COUNTY OF MONMOUTH. The fact is, that it was not a charity for the promotion of religious teaching, but one purely secular and eleemosynary."

No further legal proceedings took place until 1838, when an information was filed by the Attorney-General against the Drapers Company for the regulation of the charity. The answer to the information stated that out of the rents the sum of 84*l.* was paid to the *four poor* maidens, but the rest of the rents, after deducting 1*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.*, was carried to the account of the income of the Drapers Company. At this time the annual rents thus appropriated by the Company amounted to 1,941*l.* 15*s.* 1*d.*, exclusive of any rent due in respect of charitable property occupied by the Company. In fact, they claimed to apply nearly the whole income of the charity, but that claim was set aside by Lord Langdale, who declared that they had misappropriated them:—

The decree of April 29, 1845, declared that the whole funds in the hands of the defendants, and the rents of the lands purchased under the will of Thomas Howell, were applicable to the charitable

purposes of the will. The Master to whom the cause was referred reported that the charity ought to be extended, and that for this purpose an application ought to be made for an Act of Parliament.

He also reported that *the income of the charity property*, exclusive of interest accumulating on the income which was paid during the litigation, was 2,138*l.* 13*s.*, and that some extension of the charity was necessary.

The Master of the Rolls directed that application should be made for an Act of Parliament, and accordingly the 15 & 16 Vict., c. 14. was passed regulating the charity.

Amongst other provisions of the Act is the following:—"That "the Court of Chancery may extend the charity to the establish- "ment, maintenance, and benefit of schools in Wales, for the "instruction of girls, and the maintaining, clothing, and providing "portions for the orphan inmates educated in the schools to be so "established."

In short, the Act contemplates the establishment of *schools* in the diocese of Llandaff, and by an interpretation clause brings Monmouth within that district. The remark made by Mr. Falconer seems well founded, that more than one school was certainly intended to be established in the counties of Glamorgan and Monmouth. Only one school was to be established beyond the limits of the diocese.

The following extract from the bishop's letter, dated Dec. 20 1859, explains the character of the new schools. In reading the new scheme let it be borne in mind that the founder's intention was to benefit "4 maydens being orphanes, next of his kynne "and of bludde."

"Two schools, the one at Llandaff, the other at Denbigh, have been built on a large scale.

"At the Llandaff school THIRTY ORPHAN GIRLS, the word being interpreted in the scheme, children who, having lost one or both of their parents, are to be instructed, clothed, and maintained; and a portion and endowment fund is to be established by the Drapers Company for their benefit. In addition to these, PAY BOARDERS, not exceeding *thirty* in number, who are to pay for their board, washing, and maintenance, such annual sum as the governors shall think fit, are to be admitted, receiving gratuitously the same education as the orphans Such number of girls are also to be received for education, as DAY SCHOLARS, at a low rate of payment, as the governors from time to time shall fix.

"As it is desirable that the nature of the education prescribed by the scheme should be generally known, for the guidance of those who wish to make application for the admission of orphan girls, I beg to subjoin the 44th and 46th esctions of the scheme.

"Section 44. That there shall be taught in the schools the principles of the

Christian Religion,	History,
Reading,	Elements of Astronomy,
Writing,	Garden Botany,
Arithmetic,	Music,
English Grammar,	French, and
Geography,	Drawing,
Biography,	

and such other subjects as the governors shall from time to time direct.

"Section 46. That every girl shall be taught needlework, and to cut out and make up her own clothes, and get up fine linen, either separately or in classes, as the chief matron may direct; and such of the girls, on the foundation, as the chief matron shall appoint shall be taught domestic cookery.

"The orphans are to be nominated by *the Drapers Company* from candidates recommended by the local governors. No girl is to be admitted before she shall be *seven*, nor admitted on the foundation after *twelve* years of age."

Whether this sort of education, or the field of selection of candidates be considered, it is abundantly clear that the modern scheme has not the remotest connexion with the original scheme of Howell.

Though I have not seen the new buildings I have read a description of them. They appear to be splendid fabrics. The cost of those at Llandaff has been about 18,000*l.*, and of those at Denbigh 16,000*l.* The furnishing of each will be 2,000*l.* more. Thus the sum of 38,000*l.*, exclusive of the land upon which the schools stand, has been expended upon stones and mortar. And the result of both establishments will be as follows:—

Orphan girls, instructed, clothed, and maintained, with the benefit of a portion and endowment fund -	60
Pay boarders, the education being gratuitous - -	60
	120

Besides these, a certain amount of day scholars.

The following observations of Mr. Falconer express, I believe, the views of not a few persons on the subject of these schools:—

"The diocese of Llandaff may be described to be a diocese abounding in female orphans. How often is the wailing of female voices heard, and the sad spectacle repeated, when, through ignorance, folly, negligence, or accident, the lives of many miners are suddenly destroyed? Nowhere are schools for the education of females more needed. Many are the female orphans to teach, and many are the girls who desire and need instruction, who have no schools to which they can resort, but they are not of the class of orphan maidens who are to be taught French and astronomy at Llandaff.

"How important is it that in the mining districts there should be girls' schools. It is the mother who must chiefly teach all children in their own homes—she it is who purchases and who usually regulates all domestic arrangements. If the father dies it is the widow upon whom all the family depend; if the daughters go into service their success depends upon their early instruction, and if they remain at home their safety and character depend on the training they receive.

"When, therefore, it was said that girls' school were to be established out of the funds of Howell's Charity, it was presumed that what was designed really was the establishment of schools for girls—such institutions as are generally understood to be "schools." The accumulated funds of the charity ought, in this year—if these gigantic and costly buildings had not been raised—to have been upwards of 40,000*l.*, exclusive of interest on the accumulating funds: and, in addition, the annual income should be upwards of 2,000*l.* a-year. With these mag-

nificent means some 30 or 40 'Howell's schools' might have been established throughout the diocese. The annual income was sufficient to have allowed the school mistresses of such schools, not the meagre payment that is given to a housekeeper, but handsome and sufficient salaries, equal to reward the proper and high qualifications which the mistresses of schools ought to possess. Had such a design been acted on a vast multitude of women throughout Glamorganshire and Monmouthshire would, in a short interval of time, have been preserved from the wretchedness which is the lot of ignorance.

"What have we now?

"The Act of Parliament provides that Schools shall be established in the diocese of Llandaff. This Act has been interpreted to mean the grand and gigantic building that towers on the heights of Llandaff. The word 'schools' implies that many persons will be taught in more than one school. The institution at Llandaff is the only school where 'schools' are directed to be established, and it is open to a very limited number of girls. The expression also in the Act that only one school shall be established out of the limits of the diocese, has been interpreted to mean the establishment of a similar gigantic and costly building in North Wales to that at Llandaff, the maintenance of which must exhaust half the funds of the charity."

To conclude, this is obviously a case of a misappropriated charity of 3,600*l.* a year. Now, during the last 26 years a sum of about 168,500*l.* has been applied out of the Consolidated Fund towards the education of Wales; 3,600*l.* a year would have gone a long way to render the aid of that fund superfluous. And it is difficult to understand upon what ground the Welch charities, which have no object, should not be applied to relieve the general taxation of the country.

But further, as Mr. Falconer observes:—

"To the public generally the case is important, on account of the illustration it presents of the little protection afforded by the Court of Chancery in the administration of charities and the necessity of some provision by which *particulars* of schemes for the administration of local charities shall be published before they are sanctioned either by the Court of Chancery or by *private* Acts of Parliament."

Society for the Discharge and Relief of Insolvent Debtors.

The last case to which I shall allude is that of the Society for the Discharge and Relief of Insolvent Debtors. The circumstances are known to comparatively few. Indeed it was only by an accident that I discovered them. It is probably the most singular case of perversion sanctioned by the Legislature in the history of Charities. In the month of February, 1772, a charity sermon was preached in Charlotte Street, Pimlico, which was afterwards repeated at Bedford Chapel, Bloomsbury, and the sum of *eighty-one* pounds one shilling was collected. The preacher hoped to relieve the misfortunes of those who were condemned to waste their lives in prison, because they could not discharge some small debt incurred perhaps by misfortune,—so inhuman, in those days, was the law of England. Nor was that hope disappointed. The design was loudly applauded. Noblemen and commoners sent donations, and soon a committee of gentlemen was formed to search for fit objects of charity. They visited the prisons; they

diligently inquired into the distresses of those who had been deprived of their freedom, who were cut off from their families, but who had no friends to succour them. Struck with the misfortunes which they witnessed these gentlemen published a report; they showed how with the small sum of *four score* pounds they had relieved *thirty-four* prisoners, most of whom were the victims of a harsh law; and they made a stirring appeal to the charitable. The result was that early in May, 1773, within fifteen months after the commencement of the undertaking, the committee had collected nearly 3,000*l.*, and had relieved 986 prisoners. The most of these persons thus relieved were manufacturers, seamen, and labourers, so that instead of being confined in prison, they were permitted to support their families, and to become useful members of society.

Such was the origin of the Society for the Discharge and Relief of Persons Imprisoned for Small Debts. At that time there existed an evil of great magnitude. The society was constituted for the relief of that evil, which struck at the roots of honest industry by making wives and children victims of unforeseen and unavoidable misfortune. Prisons were filled with debtors brought there by ill health, or by the fraud of others; and the causes of Insolvency were by imprisonment aggravated instead of removed. It must be admitted that the Society was eminently successful. It is not surprising, therefore, the historian of the Society should thus express himself: "The committee became more animated "by their success, and their expectations were more highly raised "when they perceived what great events from small causes might "succeed. They expand the human heart, and lift the soul in "gratitude to heaven. The rich cordial of benevolence was now "largely flowing out as upon a once barren soil, and the *desert* "became a fruitful field." The narrative proceeds: "Such were "the exertions of the members of this benevolent institution. "The little spark which was casually thrown among such mate-"rials was now kindled into a flame; and many gentlemen of "truly philanthropic minds stepped forward to render it not only "their pecuniary, but their personal assistance also."

But things have greatly changed since the year 1772. According to the late Mr. Commissioner Phillips, the original cause which called the Society into existence has entirely disappeared. "Be it "known to the public," he said in one case, "that by the Protec-"tion Acts imprisonment for debt to an honest man is now "virtually abolished." In truth the Society has become useless, and the natural consequence has followed. The funds at its disposal have enormously accumulated. In 1856, they amounted to 106,965*l.* 2*s.* 2*d.*, and the difficulty was to know how to employ them. This being the case of a Charity founded for objects which have ceased to exist, it was necessary that recourse should be had to Parliament for the purpose of enabling the Society to dispose of the funds, instead of permitting them to accumulate. Accordingly, an Act was passed in the 19th of the Queen (1856), entitled "an Act for *Extending* the Operations of

the Society for the Discharge and Relief of Persons imprisoned for Small Debts throughout England and Wales." Its provisions may possibly tend to show whether Parliament is a fit tribunal to deal with obsolete Charities, and whether the Attorney-General or rather his advisers exercise a due control over such measures.

The Act begins by describing the nature of the Society, which its name sufficiently indicates, and by declaring that it is under the management of governors elected from donors to the Society of twenty guineas and upwards, and subscribers to the same of two guineas a year and upwards, and by setting out the two rules which determine the condition upon which debtors shall be assisted. To these was added in 1858, a singular but very important rule, which declares that persons applying for relief under the Insolvent Act *shall not be required to produce vouchers to character.* It then sets forth the property of the society, consisting of two leasehold houses, 106,965*l.* 2*s.* 2*d.* stock, annuities of 350*l.* and various outstanding legacies. It then recites that by reason of certain ameliorations of the law the applicants for assistance are so greatly reduced in number that the income of the Society has for some time exceeded its expenditure, and that there is reason *to apprehend that unless the operations of the Society be extended its property may be continually increased by accumulations.* The very terms of the Act therefore admit that the objects of the Charity have ceased to exist. It then continues by stating that the Society is desirous, and it is expedient that it be enabled to apply its surplus funds for other charitable purposes, the object of which shall be resident in any part of England. Then come the enacting clauses by which the Society, with the sanction of four-fifths of the votes of the governors at a meeting specially assembled, and *with the approval of the Court of Chancery, may apply all or any part of the surplus annual income, in any one year, of the Society by way of donation, in establishing or assisting such other present or future charitable institutions in England or Wales as the Society shall think fit.* The next section provides that the *surplus income shall be such part of the income as the general meeting of the Society shall declare to be in their judgment such part of the income as was not required for the discharge or relief of persons* imprisoned for small debts, or for the discharge of any of the liabilities of the society, and the amount so from time to time declared to be surplus income shall be thenceforth applicable under this Act.

To many, this Act will certainly require some explanation, and it is fortunate that the Charity Commissioners have supplied it. In a letter addressed to one of the governors they thus express themselves: "Nothing can be more peculiar than the constitution "of this society under their own Act of 19 Vict. *They are "clearly their own auditors,* to declare by their own Act, and "that conclusively, what is their annual surplus; and when the "application of such surplus is approved by a judge in equity, "that application also becomes final. When they declare what is "their 'surplus,' it necessarily follows that they thereby also

"define what is not surplus. It is a mere division of an aggregate "sum into two."

This letter was addressed to Mr. Frederick Chatfield, one of the governors who had applied for information. According to that gentleman's statement, he had been for nearly twenty years a subscriber of five guineas annually to this small debts Charity. In the latter part of 1856, being in England, he read a report of a case in the Insolvent Court which stated that a person named Hart, a man of bad repute, had been assisted by the Society to pass through the Court. Mr. Commissioner Phillips refused to entertain the petition, saying that the Society must have a superabundance of money to dispose of, if it could apply its funds for the benefit of such a person.

Having written to the secretary to make inquiry on the subject, this gentleman was told that the report was correct, but he was at the same time assured by the acting governors that they would be glad if he would attend the monthly meetings of the Society, and assist them in the management of its concerns. Mr. Chatfield did attend, but almost immediately reduced his subscription from five to two guineas, which sum still enables him to act as a governor.

It appears that the Society consists of sixteen persons, some of them old ladies. But of these sixteen, only four, including Mr. Chatfield, took any part in the proceedings. In 1859 a former subscriber returned. These five are called the governors, and their names are the Earl of Romney, Benjamin Bond Cabbell, Esq., Capel Cure, Esq., Harwood Harwood, Esq., and F. Chatfield, Esq. The offices are thus distributed; the Earl of Romney is president, and one of the trustees; Mr. Cabbell is treasurer, and one of the trustees; Mr. Capel Cure and Mr. Harwood Harwood are the other two trustees; they also fill the office of auditors. There is a solicitor, a banker, a secretary, Joseph Lunn, and an assistant secretary, William A. B. Lunn.

Now, according to my information these four or five gentlemen have the absolute disposal of the interest of more than 100,000*l.*, and this under the authority of an Act of Parliament passed only four years ago. The following explains the mode in which the surplus declared by these gentlemen themselves has been disposed of during the years 1857, 1858, and 1859. The connexion between the charitable institutions and the relief of insolvents is not perhaps very obvious:—

Small Debts Society.—Surplus Fund, 1857.

1st May 1857.	Application of 490*l.*	£
Lord Romney -	Ophthalmic Hospital, Maidstone -	100
Benj. Bond Cabbell -	St. Mary's Hospital, Paddington -	100
Bishop of Worcester -	Middlesex Hospital - -	100
Capel Cure - - -	St. Pancras Reformatory - -	50
Fred. Chatfield -	Stranger's Friend - - -	60
	Ragged School Union - -	80
		490

5th May 1858.		Surplus, 1,500.	
Lord Romney	-	Ophthalmic Hospital, Maidstone	400
Benj. Bond Cabbell	-	St. Mary's Hospital	300
		Queen's Charlotte's Lying-in	100
Capel Cure	-	St. Pancras Reformatory	100
		Royal London Ophthalmic	200
		Ragged School Union	100
Fred. Chatfield	-	National Benevolent Society	100
		Association for Relief of Destitution	100
		Field Lane and Hatton Garden	50
		Dress Makers Association	25
		Nightly Refuge, Whitecross Street	25
			1,500
		Surplus Fund, 1859. 1,095*l.*	
Lord Romney	-	Sea Bathing Infirmary, Margate	200
Benj. Bond Cabbell	-	Lock Asylum	100
		London General Pension Society	100
		Asylum for Idiots, Colchester	50
Capel Cure	-	Essex Lunatic	50
		London Diocesan Home Mission	50
		St. Pancras Reformatory	50
		London Truss Society	10
		Cripples Home, Females	10
		Ragged School Union	10
		Middlesex Hospital	10
		Ophthalmic Hospital, Moorfields	10
Harwood Harwood	-	Society for Improving Condition of Labouring Classes	200
		Society for Teaching Blind to Read	45
Fred. Chatfield	-	National Benevolent Society	200
			1,095

Considering the very large sum which seems to be placed at the disposal of these gentlemen, and the fact that any person on paying two guineas a year may become an annual governor, or that any person on paying twenty or twenty-five guineas in one sum may become a governor for life, it seems not impossible that scenes of considerable irregularity might occur should the character of the society become known. Feeling this strongly, Mr. Chatfield, one of the governors, appears to have made various efforts to put the charity upon a safer footing. But these efforts have hitherto failed; and the governors continue to distribute the surplus as they think right. It need hardly be mentioned that the sanction of the Court of Chancery is merely nominal. Indeed I am informed that according to the best opinions the Court has no way of controlling their mode of applying these funds.

The probability is that the nature of this Society is very little, if at all known; otherwise the number of subscribers would rapidly increase. To a man of active benevolence it would surely be a

great privilege to be able, by the payment of two guineas a year, to contribute 200*l.* to a good work.

It is to be observed that the chief reason which seems to have moved the Legislature to give its sanction to the Act of Parliament which has conferred powers so singular upon the governors of the Small Debts Society was the fact that they possessed an annually increasing surplus which they could not dispose of. It might have been expected, therefore, that the Society would have ceased to receive subscriptions after the passing of the Act, or at all events would have taken care, before receiving subscriptions, to make the peculiar circumstances of the society known. The interest of the capital is more than sufficient to meet all the cases within its proper scope. Indeed since 1858 persons are relieved who *produce no vouchers to character,* and whose petitions are dismissed even by the Insolvent Commissioner. Nevertheless, the secretary seems to be directed to insert periodically the following advertisement in the "*Times*" newspaper. The last appeared in the month of May 1860. It is as follows:

"Society for the Discharge and Relief of Persons Imprisoned for Small Debts throughout England and Wales; established 1773. President, The Earl of Romney; Treasurer, Benjamin Bond Cabbell, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.; Auditors, Capel Cure, Esq., and H. Harwood Harwood, Esq.

"At a meeting of Governors held in Craven-street on Wednesday, the 2nd day of May 1860, the cases of 22 petitioners were considered, of which 17 were approved, 1 rejected, 1 inadmissible, and 3 deferred for inquiry.

"Since the meeting held on the 4th of April, 17 debtors, of whom 14 had wives and 34 children, have been discharged from the prisons of England and Wales, the expense of whose liberation, including every charge connected with the Society, was 313*l.* 13*s.* 10*d.*

"The books of the Society may be seen, by those who desire it, on application to the Secretary, 7, Craven-street, Strand, where the Society meet the first Wednesday in every month, except September.

"William A. B. Lunn, Secretary."

In consequence of the vigorous remonstrances of Mr. Chatfield, one of the governors, the advertisement has been altered since last December. Benefactions are no longer acknowledged, nor are any instructions given where they ought to be paid. Still nothing whatever is said in the advertisement about the real character of the society. The advertisement still implies, as was stated in a letter to the Attorney-General on this subject, that "the society has really the means of applying in a proper "manner the large funds which it already possesses, and that it "is actually engaged in the beneficent work of alleviating the "distresses of poor and deserving imprisoned debtors. *The "publication of such appeals by a society is an evident deception "practised on the public benevolence.*"

In this case, at all events, it is abundantly clear that neither Parliament nor the Attorney-General has exercised that caution which they ought to exercise in dealing with so large a charitable fund, and that some other tribunal is imperatively required for the purpose of dealing with such matters.

In Hobby's Charity, in which there is an accumulation of 1,221*l.*, and an income of about 200*l.* a year applicable to the relief of "poor prisoners for debt in London, such as lie in for their "fees, seven out of each Compter and eleven out of Ludgate," Mr. Hare in his report observes, "that the abolition of the three "prisons mentioned in this endowment, and the great alterations "which have taken place in the modern laws and remedies between "debtor and creditor, would appear to render it necessary to "adopt some new method of distributing charitable funds appli-"cable to the benefit of prisoners for debt. This, however, is "raising a very large question, owing to the number and magni-"tude of the gifts for distributions in money and kind to prisoners "in the Metropolis, and elsewhere; and it is a question which, "it appears to me, ought to be considered in a more extensive point "of view than could be taken in settling a scheme for any single "Charity. Instead, therefore, of recommending in this and other "like cases, any application to the Court for a new scheme, I have "rather preferred to leave the disposition of the income as it may "happen to be made in the exercise of the judgments of the "administrators, the capital being secure, and hereafter capable of "being applied in some manner more extensively beneficial to the "unfortunate persons for whom it is intended, than the direction "for any detached and fragmentary application of a particular "fund is likely to be."

Conclusion and suggestions.

5. Two points thus seem to be established. In order to render endowments as useful as possible, some alteration must be made in the terms of the foundation; and the only tribunals which now exist capable of effecting that purpose, the Court of Chancery and Parliament, are unfit. A new tribunal, then, is required. I have some doubts whether the constitution of that tribunal comes within my commission; but I shall venture upon a suggestion. Some additional power must be conferred, and this may be done in one of two ways: either the Charity Commission may be clothed with power to frame new schemes, or a modified course may be taken. The Commissioners may be empowered to draw up new schemes in certain specified cases, and upon certain specified objects, and subject to obtaining the assent of a proportion of the parties interested, and it may be enacted that these schemes shall become law after lying on the table of the Houses of Parliament for three months. This power would be strictly analogous to the powers conferred on the Oxford University Commissioners. But in addition to this, it is essential that the Charity Commissioners should be brought into connexion with the Privy Council of Education. If educational endowments are to produce the maximum of benefit they must be administered according to some system. The Charity Commissioners seem to admit that they have not time sufficient to devote to educational questions. When they examine a school they generally do it through the Government inspector. In order therefore, to establish the connexion suggested, it appears to me that one of the Charity Commissioners should be an Education Commissioner—appointed specifically

for that subject—and that no new education scheme should be passed by the Charity Commissioners until it has obtained the sanction of the Vice-President of the Committee of Council of Education.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
PATRICK CUMIN.

J. F. Stephen, Esq.,
The Secretary,
Education Commission.

APPENDIX.

Mr. Fearon in his paper on "The Endowed Charities," at p. 21, says,—

"The number of charities so reported on is 28,880.

"The following classification will give approximatively the numbers of the charities, and the aggregate amounts of the incomes of each class, as it stood in the period ranging from 1818 to 1837 :—

						Aggregate Income.
13,231	Charities not amounting to		5*l.*	per annum		£58,187
4,641	amounting to	5*l.*	and under	10*l.*		
3,913	„	10	„	20	„	51,694
1,867	„	20	„	30	„	43,400
1,079	„	30	„	40	„	35,891
721	„	40	„	50	„	31,318
506	„	50	„	60	„	26,939
393	„	60	„	70	„	24,988
238	„	70	„	80	„	17,506
235	„	80	„	90	„	19,633
175	„	90	„	100	„	16,427
627	„	100	„	150	„	75,731
280	„	150	„	200	„	48,010
170	„	300	„	250	„	37,576
107	„	250	„	300	„	28,961
92	„	300	„	350	„	29,771
63	„	350	„	400	„	23,408
54	„	400	„	450	„	22,822
49	„	450	„	500	„	23,041
66	„	500	„	600	„	36,182
53	„	600	„	700	„	34,450
41	„	700	„	800	„	30,452
26	„	800	„	900	„	21,971
22	„	900	„	1,000	„	20,481
74	„	1,000	„	2,000	„	99,364
24	„	2,000	„	3,000	„	57,437
10	„	3,000	„	4,000	„	34,450
4	„	4,000	„	5,000	„	17,648
7	„	5,000	„	6,000	„	38,195
2	„	6,000	„	7,000	„	13,653
0	„	7,000	„	8,000	„	—
3	„	8,000	„	9,000	„	25,397
1	„	9,000	„	10,000	„	9,713
1	„	10,000	„	15,000	„	14,789
1	„	15,000	„	20,000	„	15,817
1	„	20,000	„	25,000	„	24,963
1	„	25,000	„	30,000	„	29,344
1	„	30,000	„	35,000	„	30,132
1	„	35,000	„	40,000	„	39,297
28,880						£ 1,209,395

Sir James K. Shuttleworth says that the charities reported on were only 28,840.

Report *of the* Rev. J. S. Howson, M.A., Principal of the Collegiate Institution, Liverpool, *on* Popular Education *in* Liverpool.

The Local Committee appointed by the Association at Liverpool having decided that I am to present a Special Report on Education, I proceed to state—1st. The modes in which inquiries into this subject have been prosecuted; and 2nd. The results and conclusions to which the inquiries have led.

In some voluntary communications with members of the Education Commission appointed at the instance of Sir J. Pakington, I could not fail to notice that the local inquiries into the state of education in Liverpool, which might be useful to the Commission, were absolutely the same in kind as those which were desired by the Association, and especially that the observance of the same principles of strict impartiality was requisite in both cases. A little correspondence led to consent, on the part of the Commission, to accept the Educational Report of the Local Committee. Thus this paper is presented at once to the Association and the Commission. The letter of the Secretary to the latter body, dated March 19, 1859, is given in the *Appendix* (I.)

This agreement being made, nearly 200 copies of the papers prepared by the Commission (*App.* II., III., IV., V.,) were circulated (in the month of April and afterwards) along with the Address of the Local Social Science Committee, and the following special Circular on Education, drawn up with the view of encouraging and inviting replies. The Circular, it will be seen, follows the order of topics in the Address. The persons to whom these papers were sent were selected from their known or conjectured interest in the subject.

Address. (Education.)

I. The Privy Council System.—What have been its results in your district? What its defects? And the apparent remedies?

II. Schools not under the Privy Council (of all descriptions).—Their Statistics in your district? How they operate? How apparently defective?

III. Local Supply of Schools.—Is it defective, or otherwise, in your district? And with what effect, especially on the social condition of the district?

IV. School Payments.—Their amount, and how determined in your district? And how far connected with the intelligence, or the occupations, or the migrations, of parents?

V. Kind and Degree of Education.—What, in your district, mainly determines the time spent at school? What provision is made for industrial and domestic training, and for the continuance of education after leaving school?

VI. Pupil-Teachers.—Are they, in your district, usually persons in good health; and how does their occupation affect their health?

CIRCULAR ON EDUCATION.

Collegiate Institution, Liverpool,
March 28, 1859.

DEAR SIR,

WITH this letter you will receive two other communications—(1,) the address of the standing committee appointed to conduct local inquiries for the Social Science Association; (2,) the instructions and questions issued by the Education Commission, which was appointed at the instance of Sir John Pakington, and of which the Duke of Newcastle is chairman.

It has been agreed that the information and suggestions regarding popular education in Liverpool and its neighbourhood, which are received by the Social Science Committee, shall form the substance also of a local report to the Commission. I have therefore a double reason for commending all these documents to your very careful attention, and requesting you to communicate to me, as fully and as early as possible, the results of your thought and experience in reference to any of the details which they embrace.

Any hints for conducting such local inquiries as these, and for permanently recording the results, would be very welcome to the committee. I venture (following the scheme of the address, p. 10,) to indicate the following questions as, among others, worthy of special consideration:

I. OPERATIONS OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL SYSTEM.—How far do you regard it as satisfactory in its results? Are the grants sufficient in amount? Are they disposed of in the best way? Does the system tend to give aid to those who least need it, and to withhold it from those who most need it? What observations have you made, especially on the operation of the capitation grant? Do you conceive that the system should be extended to schools of a higher grade than at present? Do you think the present standard too high in schools for the poor? What advantageous modifications of the system can you suggest?

II. SCHOOLS AT PRESENT UNTOUCHED BY THE PRIVY COUNCIL.—How far can you supply statistics supplementary to those in the Government reports? What can you say of the success of the schools not under inspection, the numbers taught, the kind of teaching, or the discipline? What are the relations in which such schools stand to those under inspection? What suggestions can you make for the improvement of such schools?

III. LOCAL SUPPLY OF SCHOOLS.—How far have you observed that the supply is adequate in any area which you may define? Have you noticed that the supply is too great in some places, and too small in others? What effects have you observed to follow from the withdrawal of the children of the poor from the immediate notice of the wealthy, through separation of residence? What educational and social results follow from the juxtaposition and rivalry of good schools? How great a distance have you noticed that parents will send their children to a school which they prefer? How far are all these points affected by the occupations and habits of the parents? How far by religious considerations?

IV. SCHOOL PAYMENTS.—What facts have come before your notice, which lead you to think that the fees in particular classes of schools are too high, or too low, or too variable? How far have you observed that this point is affected by the employment or migration of parents, or the peculiarities of special districts? What do you

conceive the operation would be of a local rate for the establishment of free schools, or of a rate in aid of schools partially supported by fees?

V. KIND AND DEGREE OF EDUCATION.—What light can you throw upon the following points,—the early age of leaving school, the average time of a child's remaining at school, the causes and effects of irregular attendance, and of frequent moving from school to school? What provision are you aware of for industrial training, and especially for making girls familiar with household occupations? What efforts can you mention for watching over boys and girls immediately after leaving school? What provision for the continuance of education by evening schools or otherwise? Can you give any information regarding prize schemes, half-time schemes, or indirect encouragement given to education by employers of labour?

VI. PUPIL-TEACHERS.—What kind of character do you observe to be usually formed in pupil-teachers, as to steadiness, devotion to their work, respect to superiors, &c.? Many of them ultimately go to other employments. How far do you consider this a loss or a gain to the country?

There are two other subjects which I take the liberty of bringing particularly under your notice, viz., *Sunday schools* and *Infant schools*. As to the former, how far do you observe that the Sunday school and the day school mutually help and strengthen each other, and how far are the children the same in both? As to the latter, does your experience lead you to the conclusion that children who have been at an infant school stay longer at schools afterwards, and behave better? Other questions connected with infant schools will probably suggest themselves, *e.g.*, how far do they set free for education the elder girls, who would otherwise be wanted at home? On the other hand, how far has the separation of mothers and their infants a bad effect on the former, and so by reaction on the children?

In conclusion, I beg respectfully, on behalf of the committee, to call your attention to the meeting of the 20th of April, of which notice is given in the address.

I am, dear sir, faithfully yours,
J. S. HOWSON.

In answer to these papers, communications of great value were received from some clergymen of the Church of England, and from various masters and mistresses. Some of the Roman Catholics, a large and energetic body in Liverpool, and some of the Unitarians, a small body taking great intetest in education, wrote very fully. Nothing has been received from other Nonconformists. This is much to be regretted, because among them are included most of those who decline State assistance and deprecate State control, and because, while a great deal is known of inspected schools through the Government blue books, we are much in the dark concerning uninspected schools.

Five local meetings also were held, in which full opportunity was given for the discussion of the subjects contained in the papers. 1st. The general meeting of the local committee on the 20th of April, at which great prominence was given to the subject of education. 2nd. A meeting of Church of England schoolmasters

and schoolmistresses on the 30th August. 3rd. A similar meeting of masters and mistresses of various denominations, on the 6th of September. 4th. An adjourned meeting of the same on the 12th of September. And 5th. The concluding general meeting of the local committee on the 14th September. The notices summoning the strictly educational meetings are given at the end. (*App.* VI., VII.) I may add, that in each case the masters and mistresses had previously discussed the subjects in question at meetings of associations of their own.

Besides this, statistical inquiries were conducted, complete in themselves, though necessarily on a small scale. Certain specimen districts were taken from the good, indifferent, and bad parts of the town, in such a way as to show the effects both of contrast and contiguity. The partially colored map, which is here given, (*App.* VIII.,) will show the relative positions of these districts. *St. Thomas's, Toxteth,* is a detached district, in the southern part of the town, containing a mixture of the poorer and poorest population. The three contiguous districts of *St. Mary's, Edgehill, St. Stephen's,* and *St. Saviour's,* belong to the wealthier parts of the town, but contain among them, though in very different proportions, a large number of poor. The four contiguous districts of *St. Bartholomew's, Bevington, Vauxhall,* and *St. Paul's,* towards the north, represent the poorest and most degraded parts of the town. In each of these cases, trustworthy agents were employed to make, as nearly as possible, a house-to-house visitation, and to report. The districts themselves were determined on, partly by their own fitness, and partly by the probability of obtaining intelligent and efficient help.

I proceed now to state the results of these various inquiries and discussions, following, as most convenient, the order of the circular which was drawn up with a due regard to the papers issued by the Commission.

I. The Privy Council System.—All with whom I have been in communication agree that this system has been highly beneficial in extending and improving education, raising its standard, creating and sustaining a race of efficient teachers, improving school buildings, securing better supplies of apparatus, encouraging and supplementing local exertions, and stimulating the nation at large to greater efforts on behalf of general education. There will be no doubt that good has been done to a vast extent, even if the system be hereafter changed. On the other hand, the fact that good has been done is no reason why the system cannot be improved. In truth, the system itself has already gone through various and gradual modifications.

One broad fact comes clearly into view, that there is a tendency in the system to give help to those who need little help, and to pass by those who need it most. This may be illustrated, first, with regard to *local districts,* next, with regard to *classes of society.*

As regards *districts,* the point is strongly put in a letter thus:

"While our old parochial system assumes that rich, poor, and middle "classes coexist, in the small parochial sections of our large towns "this is not and cannot be the case. The consequence is, that "education is not imparted, or is imparted partially and badly, "where it is most desirable; and the funds which should carry it "on at any cost are expended where they are comparatively "unrequired and wasted." Another, who writes far less strongly on this point, says: "There is great difficulty in securing grants "of the amount needed by the poorest localities, but such diffi- "culties gradually disappear when any person of energy or "influence takes up education in such a neighbourhood; where "no such lever is available, central government is helpless." Other forcible testimonies to the same effect might be quoted. The matter may be briefly condensed thus:—All the facilities are found in one class of districts—large church and chapel collections, local proximity of the wealthy, manageable numbers of the poor. All the difficulties in another class of districts—crowded population, poverty, degradation, and absolute removal from the presence, and therefore the sympathy, of the rich. As specimens to elucidate this contrast, we might take the far-separated and very different districts of *St. Saviour's* and *Vauxhall.* But the same fact comes also into view in the case of adjacent districts, such as *St. Mary's, Edge-hill,* and *St. Stephen's.* The National schools of the former are largely aided and crowded with scholars. In the latter, the want of such a school is felt by the people to be "an inconvenience and loss." In consequence of this want, numbers of children are sent to private schools in the district, and to public schools out of the district. It is naturally added by the correspondent who furnished a statistical report of this part of the town, "It appears to me that the district is one which brings out "the weak point of the Committee of Council; it needs Govern- "ment help, but cannot come up to the conditions on which such "help is given."

As to *classes of society,* it seems evident that the system is "working upwards;" that it has a tendency to aid in educating children whose parents are really in the receipt of a very good income, while it leaves behind large numbers of those who are in the utmost poverty, and in great danger of falling into criminal habits. Notwithstanding some fear lest the self-respect of the lower middle classes, which is one source of the country's strength, should be impaired by this state of things, it is felt on the whole that these classes are benefited, so far as they are touched, by the educational arrangements of Government. Some wish the Privy Council system to be extended still further into the region of the middle classes; and this for two reasons: 1st. Because middle-class schools are very defective; 2nd. That promotion to such schools might be held out as an object of ambition to certificated masters. It is remarked by one who is not a schoolmaster himself, but has a large acquaintance with schoolmasters, that certificated masters are seldom satisfied with their position, as thinking that it

holds out "less chance of promotion than most other professions "or trades." Doubt, indeed, is expressed whether public money should be spent on middle-class schools. But it is suggested that such schools might have the benefit of supervision and inspection without pecuniary aid. Here we clearly come in contact with the new University examinations, and we see the value of a neutral place of discussion, like that presented by the Social Science Association.

To turn to the other extreme of the social scale, the opinion is strongly expressed by many that the Government system should embrace free schools in the poorest districts for the poorest children. It is felt that here is the critical point of the whole problem, in the class which borders on the utterly destitute part of the population, and the school which borders on the reformatory institution. The subject of compulsion, direct and indirect, will be mentioned below.

Two features of the existing Privy Council system demand a special consideration: 1st. The *institution of pupil-teachers;* 2nd. The operation of the *capitation grant.* The first of these subjects is dealt with separately under our sixth head. I turn, therefore, now, to the second, which was made a topic of very full discussion at more than one of our meetings.

Very marked differences of opinion are visible with regard to the *capitation grant.* A clergyman says: "It has been a great "good in our schools; without it we could not be efficient." One body of schoolmasters state that "it has enabled some "managers of schools to procure a better supply of books and "apparatus; some to increase the salaries of deserving yet under-"paid teachers; some to establish and continue school libraries, "and others to give rewards, in the form of money and books, "to the children for regular attendance." Another body of schoolmasters say that "it has rendered timely and essential aid, "especially in destitute districts, and that when the teachers and "children have a share in its advantages, it has beneficially "affected the attendance at the school." In a meeting of masters, however, it was said by one, that "he doubted whether the capi-"tation grant had really improved attendance;" by another, that "its only effect is to prevent voluntary subscriptions." As to the action of prizes drawn from this source, some are of opinion that they have no effect on the inferior and irregular children, and that precisely those obtain them who would be regular in their attendance without them. One lady of great experience says, that "the grant is troublesome and annoying, "and is simply useful in increasing the funds of the school." Two schoolmistresses suggest that "capitation money ought to be "confined to the poorer districts;" but no rule is given for practically accomplishing this; and it seems difficult for any central authority to frame such a rule. The utility of this grant appears to depend very much on the mode of its application. A prevalent opinion is, that the best course is to apply it partly to

increase the teacher's stipend, partly to improve the school apparatus, and partly to provide prizes for regular attendance. It is justly remarked, that regularity of attendance "lightens the "teacher's labour," and improves the condition of the whole school.

As regards the *standard* of education in inspected schools, there is difference of opinion. Some say it is too high, others that it is not too high, and that in consequence of deficiency of teaching power it is hard of attainment. The former view is put in a pointed manner, as follows, by a clergyman:

I.—There is a practical standard in the minds of the people, beyond which the education of the masses cannot be carried. If Government raise the standard, people diminish the time of children's attendance, &c.

II.—What is the practical amount of education that can be given to the people as a mass? This to be the standard of all the present National schools, which is now too high.

III.—If the standard were lowered in National schools under inspection, a part of the Government aid might be withdrawn from them, and applied to the thousands of schools now shut out from aid because not up to the standard.

IV.—The true principle is to bring all up to a low level of education, and not to take trouble about bringing out the talent of the country. Talent will bring out itself.

On the other hand, it is said by a gentleman of much experience, "I do not believe the present standard too high. In "practice, a school where the elder children read well, write "on paper from dictation well, and work common sums well, is "accepted as a good school. I do not think less can be supposed "worthy of public approval and support."

Various detached points in connexion with the Government system have been brought before us in the course of our inquiry. Some relate to details rather than principles. Some are, perhaps, hardly suitable to this Report, as *e.g.*, the question whether communication should be open between masters and mistresses of schools on the one hand, and the Privy Council on the other, without the intervention of the managing bodies. Whatever relates to payments and salaries will be mentioned below. It is suggested in one quarter that advantages would result from a wider employment of organizing masters, and from the establishment of sub-inspectors. I find it noticed also that there is sometimes difficulty in obtaining information concerning the rules of the Privy Council. And there is one very marked case of the hardship resulting to a necessitous neighbourhood from the impossibility of satisfying the condition which requires a freehold site. These three topics seem to suggest that some local provision for eliciting and diffusing local information, and for providing (in some degree) local administration, may be highly desirable.

II. Schools untouched by the Privy Council.—Concerning inspected schools we have full information from one point of view, through the Government blue books. What the number and condition of other schools are it is impossible to learn accurately, except by means of a close visitation from house to house. The statistics given under the next head will supply the facts as regards the selected districts. I may say here a word concerning the relative position in public esteem of dames' and other private-adventure schools on one hand, and inspected schools on the other.

Contradictory opinions are expressed on this point, as might be expected. In fact on this, as on many subjects, there are two extremes of opinion. The tendency of those connected with the Privy Council will be to underrate the small private schools; still, there is no doubt they are generally much below the others in organization and efficiency. Parents will often be predisposed against the public schools over which they can exert little influence; still, it is true that dames' schools and other small establishments for education are often unduly depreciated. The following reasons for the preference of such schools are gathered from the various communications, oral and written, which have come before our notice.

These schools are often more conveniently placed, especially for the younger children,—higher branches of education are taught, or supposed to be taught, in them;—they are more select (for even very poor parents are often scrupulous about the admixture of their children with those of ruder character); some few look on National schools as charity schools, and prefer to maintain their own independence. A prejudice exists (as will be noticed below) against pupil-teachers and infant schools; and it is often believed that better attention is given to individual children when the numbers in the school are comparatively small. Frequently the preference is determined by friendship for the master or mistress; and very frequently the preference of the child determines the consent of the parent. Nor can it be doubted that the teachers of private-adventure schools are under a great temptation to humour parents and children, and to present their claims in the most specious form.

III. Local Supply of Schools.—Here seems the right place for giving the statistical returns of the districts which have been submitted to close examination. It is clear that in any such returns of districts taken as samples, there is one great imperfection. The children of the district do not necessarily attend the schools of the district; the schools receive children from other districts, and the children cross the boundary to attend school elsewhere.

Thus an abatement must be made from the result—which, at first sight, is in the highest degree discouraging—obtained from three of the four adjacent districts in the northern part of the town.

LIVERPOOL.

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE in THREE ADJACENT DISTRICTS.

Population.	—	Under inspection.		Private.	
		Children.	T. & P. T.	Children.	Tch. & Assist.
8,250	*New Parish of Vauxhall.*				
	All Souls' schools - -	200	9	–	–
	Four private schools -	–	–	156	4
10,300	*St. Bartholomew's District.*				
	Naylor-street schools -	230	11	–	–
	Two private schools -	–	–	111	2
7,000	*St. Paul's District.*				
	St. Mary's R. C. schools	754	22	–	–
	Nine private schools -	–	–	441	12
25,550 Children to be educated, 1 in 6 = 4,258.	Total in 3 Government and 13 Private Schools	1,184	42	708	18

SUMMARY.

Received good education (Government) -	1,184	1 teacher, trained, to 28 children.
„ indifferent education (private) -	708	1 ditto, untrained, to 39 ditto.
„ no education -	2,366	
	4,258	

Here it is not stated how many children of the 2,366 attend school elsewhere. And I observe, if I take in the fourth adjacent district—the "new parish of Bevington"—which completes my northern group, that in that district alone, in a population of 8,500, there is an average attendance of 1,676 at public schools, and 435 at private schools. In fact, it is said by the agent who made the inquiries, that every child in the district (and it is of the lowest kind) goes to some school. It must be remembered, too, that in all these cases average attendance has been taken as the standard, and that the number on the books is much greater.

On the whole, as I have examined the evidence which has been collected in the course of the inquiries, I have come more and more to the conclusion that there is a fair supply of schools, of some kind or other, within reasonable reach of almost every child in Liverpool. The districts which have been submitted to visitation have been very thoroughly examined. I will give some of the other results succinctly, though under some variety of form.

From the detached district at the south end of the town, viz., *St. Thomas's, Toxteth*, the return is as follows:—

Total number of children in the district, 5,311, (*i.e.*, boys under twenty, 2,707; girls under seventeen, 2,604.)

Attend Church of England school	693	in the district or out of the district.
„ Roman Catholic schools	336	
„ Schools of various denominations	270	
„ Private schools	360	
Too young to go to school	913	
Estimated number at work	900	
	3,472	

Leaving 1,839 children attending no school at all; but it is not known how many of these children may have been at some school for longer or shorter intervals.

In the district itself, besides the National schools, are one public and five private schools, with an aggregate attendance of 868 children.

Turning now to the three contiguous districts of *St. Stephen's, St. Saviour's*, and *St. Mary's, Edge-hill*, I have this return from the first of the three, which contains no school in connexion with the Privy Council, and in which upwards of 1,300 families were visited.

Heads of families sending their children to various schools in the town:—

Church of England schools	356
Dissenting schools	157
Unitarian schools	26
Roman Catholic schools	60
Night schools	42
Private schools	139
Families whose children are grown up	200
Families whose children are not sent to school	294

It is remarked that the cases of the children not sent to school may be divided into four classes,—the largest containing children between 3 and 4¼ years of age—the next, children of Roman Catholic parents—the next, children of drunken Protestant parents, who reside for the most part in disorderly streets—the smallest, children of distressed and sickly parents. The number of private schools in the district is 13, with an average attendance of from 7 to 28.

Immediately contiguous to St. Stephen's is *St. Saviour's*, one of the most favoured districts of the town, as regards education. On a close examination it was found that it hardly contains a single child which is not sent to school; but it contains hardly any of the very poor, and its National schools are of the highest kind, and in receipt of the fullest Government help. The private schools are 9 in number, but some of them are adapted not so much to the poor as to the middle classes, which indeed form a

prevailing part of the population of the district. The total number of children receiving education in these private schools is 156, of whom 85 reside within the district, and 71 out of it. The main facts in the very full statistical returns I have received concerning this district may be simply exhibited as follows:—

	Boys.	Girls.	Infants.
Children in the district who were visited, and 101 of whom are under two years old -	180	179	324
Of these attend the National schools of the district - - - - - -	60	51	59
Ditto, day schools out of the district - -	72	106	49
Of children in the National schools—reside in the district - - - -	76	44	62
Ditto, out of the district - - -	184	188	154

In the district of *St. Mary's, Edge-hill*, as in St. Saviour's, the National schools are very efficient, and in receipt of full Government help, and number 899 on the books, with 718 of average attendance. In this case, however, there is a much larger poor population in the immediate neighbourhood than in the former case. It is probably unnecessary to multiply statistics any further, especially as defined districts taken out of the midst of a large population, can only serve as illustrations of general facts; I may, however, mention one contrast which I gathered from those who examined the neighbourhoods of Edge-hill and Vauxhall respectively. In the latter it would seem that religious differences have considerable effect in determining the choice of a school; in the former (the Roman Catholics being excepted), this is by no means the case. Now, the neighbourhood of Vauxhall is inhabited by a population much more ignorant and degraded than the neighbourhood of Edge-hill. It would be too much to conclude from this, that the separation of feeling between Church people and Dissenters, as regards education, diminishes in proportion to the intelligence of the people; but the fact is worthy of notice.

Notwithstanding what I have said above, it is very evident that the town may be divided into two classes of districts; one where the supply of education is adequate or more than adequate, another where it is defective or precarious. It is true that children will sometimes go two, three, or even four miles to school (and this in the case of schools of various denominations), but such instances depend usually on attachment to particular teachers. It is of great importance, not only that there should be a sufficient supply of good schools, but that the good schools should be in the right places; and this is not always the case in Liverpool. The juxtaposition of good schools stimulates activity, and probably improves the quality of education, but it may foster many unworthy feelings and practices. Another kind of juxtaposition also may do harm, viz., when the establishment of a free school draws away from other

schools the children of parents who are able to pay a fair amount for their education. It is difficult to consider these questions without feeling the want of some local agency for collecting local information, and considering local claims.

IV. School Payments.—The topic of finance was fully discussed at our meetings in its various aspects, *e.g.*, as to the amount of payment to be required or expected from the parents, the best intervals of payment, the principle of the graduation of payments: again, as regards the school teachers, whether it is best that they should have fixed salaries, or incomes wholly or partly dependent on the school pence. The question, also, of a system of free schools supported by rates was considered. So much diversity of sentiment was evident on many of these points, that it seems difficult to do more than to indicate the leading differences.

Some advocate uniform payments at a low rate, some would have payments graduated according to the subjects taught and the advance of the pupils, others would have them graduated according to the capacity of the parents to pay. It is felt to be a hardship that parents, because they are poor, or because their family is large, should not be able to secure the best education afforded by the school to which they send their children; and on all sides a strong desire is expressed that some provision should always be made for those cases when sudden sickness or undeserved distress falls on a family, and prevents the possibility of sending the children to school. It is agreed by all, that parents, when not absolutely unable, should pay partially at least for the education of their children; and proofs are abundant, that amidst a vast amount of carelessness caused by vice and degradation, many of the poor are by no means indifferent to the benefits of education, or unwilling to pay for it, and that inability to provide even a small school fee, though in most cases it is the result of intemperate and reckless habits, does often proceed from honest poverty.

The subject of the school pence leads to the subject of the teacher's salary; and here again opinions diverge, some urging that the salary should be fixed and absolutely independent of the pence; others contending that a variation of income, corresponding more or less to the amount of pence, will have a beneficial result on the diligence and perseverance of the teacher. Those who hold the former view argue that the teacher, by being relieved of all care about the school pence, is relieved from the temptation of trying to increase his school by unworthy methods; but, on the other hand, it is said that the collecting of school pence through any other agency than that of the teacher is attended with much practical difficulty. This would obviously be facilitated by the introduction of monthly or quarterly payments, which, as will be noticed below, are recommended on other grounds.

The questions of free schools, local rates, and compulsory attendance remain. Not one person advocates the subversion of the present system for the purpose of substituting a system of free schools, supported by local rates, and controlled by officers elected

by the ratepayers. Such a system is deprecated as likely to place the management of the schools in wrong hands, to compromise the religious influences now exerted on them, and yet to excite local religious quarrels. At the same time, as has been said, free schools (supported by rate or otherwise) in destitute districts are recommended, and by some persons compulsory attendance is advocated; but no very practical hints are given as to the drawing of the line between the poorer and the poorest, or as to the best mode of enforcing attendance. The notion of indirect compulsion, in a form corresponding to an extension of the Factory School Act, finds the most favour. It is naturally urged that educational work is marred by the element of compulsion, and that "legal enactments are always evaded when opposed to the "national sentiment."

V. KIND AND DEGREE OF EDUCATION.—It is noticed that the *time of leaving* school has a tendency to become *earlier*, as the better teaching produces at an earlier age results of which parents can judge, such as reading and writing. On the other hand, it is argued that nearly all children are a sufficient time at some school or schools to learn what is requisite, if only they are well and steadily taught. It seems to be generally agreed, that *irregular attendance* is a worse evil than early leaving. (See above, on *capitation grant.*) It arises partly from the improvidence and carelessness of parents, and very considerably from the want of parental control. One of the best checks to the evil is the existence of a kindly feeling between the teacher and the scholar. From the same lawless independence of the children, from their vagrant habits, and the fancies and friendships among them, arises another evil very common in this town, and very mischievous,—the frequent *migration from school to school.* Some children have almost made the round of half the schools in the neighbourhood. In some cases the mischief is enhanced by the holding out of rewards and presents as bribes for attendance. It is generally agreed that the evil might be arrested by a general agreement among all schoolmasters or school managers not to receive any child without a satisfactory reason for leaving his last school. Such an agreement, however, would be of comparatively little value unless it were general. In some schools the introduction of monthly, and even quarterly, prepayments have been followed by excellent results; and one schoolmaster of long experience says, that for many years he has found regularity of attendance much increased by the exaction of an entrance fee of a shilling.

The wishes of the children themselves being so powerful in determining all these questions, it is evidently desirable that the schools should be made as attractive as possible; and this leads to the subject of *industrial teaching* in schools. This matter must be viewed separately for the boys and the girls.

As regards the *boys*, no one advocates the incorporating of industrial training with education as a means of learning trades. It is felt that this turning of the school into the workshop would

lead to disappointment. In one marked case experience has shown the failure resulting from the attempt to introduce skilled labour into a school, while in the same school continual improvement has followed the adoption of industrial work as a variety of employment, and for the purpose of teaching boys the general use of their hands. With these ends in view, for the sake of relieving tedium, for teaching habits of industry, and in order to let children see the results of their own work, the introduction of industrial occupation is recommended by high authorities. It is agreed that the boys will thus be made more fit to enter the busy world; and it is noticed that this argument is the more forcible at a time when emigration is frequent. It is suggested that workmen should be engaged to come for certain hours of the day to teach certain kinds of handicraft. Something of this kind is done in one school in the way of tailoring. It is added by our informant, that the trade is not acquired, but that the boys learn to sew on a button, to put on a patch, and to make bags and towels, and that the lessons are not injured by the relief of this change.

The industrial training of *girls* is very urgently demanded on all sides. But here again there is difference of opinion as to the practicability of accomplishing this at school. One mistress regards it as an "utter impossibility to make girls acquainted with "the *practical* part of domestic economy in National schools," except indeed as regards "needlework." Another authority deprecates the "imprudent and disastrous tendency, in examina- "tions for scholarships and certificates, to mix together industrial "skill and intellectual attainment," and the attempt "now "fashionable" in training colleges, to produce in the students a "combination of schoolmistresses and washerwomen." Still, on the other hand, there is a very loud and general demand for the training of girls in household work during the period of their attendance at school. The true reconciliation of this discrepancy seems to be this, that the household training might be given in an establishment separate from the school. In two schools in this neighbourhood a certain amount of cookery is practically taught in connexion with the school establishment, and not without good results; but it is found that the school teaching suffers from the combination. Oral lessons cannot teach household work, and the best schoolmistress is not necessarily the best superintendent of the operations of cooking, washing, and cleaning. I do not see why establishments for practically teaching these things should not be set up in such neighbourhoods as to be within reach of several schools, so that the elder girls from all might be drafted off in turns to receive practical household instruction under a superintendence limited to this one object. Two or three remarks in connexion with this topic seem to be important. One is this: that it is one thing to train girls for domestic service, another to train them for the experience of cottage life. What is done with the latter in view ought to be strictly on the cottage scale, and arranged on the most homely and economical principles. It is truly remarked also, that the mother is the true teacher of house-

hold work; and it has been suggested that much might be gained in this way if the children were to leave school at half-past eleven instead of twelve, a change recommended on other grounds also.

There are in Liverpool, for the industrial training of females, three Roman Catholic institutions, aided by the Privy Council. The first, attended by forty, is a "Laundry designed to shelter "unprotected young women at a dangerous period, to train them "as skilful washerwomen, and to place them in respectable "situations." The second, attended by 166, is a lace school, with an elementary day school attached. The third, attended by twenty-six, trains domestic servants. The second has been certified under the Industrial Schools Act; and it is understood that a similar application is about to be made for the third.

Few things are more important than the watching over *girls after they have left school*, and gone to service. It is a duty of the higher and better informed classes; but without some special organization, it is difficult of accomplishment, in consequence of the local separation of rich and poor. One of the merits of Sunday schools is seen in this point of view.

For continuing and supplementing the education of boys *after they have left school*, *Evening schools and Working men's associations* have been established in various parts of Liverpool and its neighbourhood. The importance of such institutions is increasingly felt, but the experience which would be valuable in a report is only now beginning to accumulate; and I venture to suggest that this subject should be made the matter of a special report to the Association in 1860 or 1861. It seems to be clearly made out that the mixing of men and boys together always leads to disappointment. It is noticed, too, that the character of evening classes is very much modified according as the masters are voluntary or paid. The relation of the day schoolmaster to this evening work is evidently at present the subject of some doubt and discontent. If, as suggested by some, the hours of the day school were shortened, some of the objections to his employment in this way might be removed.

Half-time schools are only very partially applicable to the occupations of Liverpool. Nor has any great *prize scheme* yet been organized here. Strong wishes, however, are expressed for such a scheme, and it is hoped that one may before long be matured. As to the indirect influence over education which merchants and other employers of labour can exercise, it is evidently considerable, and in some cases this seems to be felt.

VI. PUPIL-TEACHERS.—Though this subject strictly belongs to the first section, I have purposely kept it separate, partly because it has a definite importance of its own, and partly because it has been very fully considered in our discussions and inquiries.

Very favourable opinions are generally expressed concerning the beneficial results of this part of the Government system. At the same time it must be acknowledged that among the parents of the poorer classes there is rather a widely extended feeling

against it. There is an impression that the pupil-teachers do not always behave with discretion to the children, and that in large schools, conducted on the pupil-teacher system, especially where the lower classes of the school are large, the progress of the children is not so good as in smaller schools more directly taught by the master or mistress. We may notice here an approximation of opinion on the part of fathers and mothers on the one hand, and masters and mistresses on the other, in favour of a comparative increase of adult teaching power.

"On one point there seems to be an absolute unanimity in Liverpool, viz., that the payments to male pupil-teachers are too low to secure what is really wanted. This is put in the strongest manner both by managers and teachers, and in reference to schools of all denominations, and alike by masters and mistresses. No difficulty is felt in obtaining female teachers of a high order, both as regards intellectual attainment and family connexion. Two mistresses of great experience go so far as to say this: "The pay-"ment allowed to female pupil-teachers should be lower. We "find parents, generally, seeking to have their daughters appren-"ticed from no higher motive than the remuneration received "during their term of five years." They add: "The stipends to "boys should be raised in proportion to the advantages offered "them in business." And here is precisely the main point. It is not so much that male pupil-teachers cannot be obtained in sufficient numbers, but that in consequence of the inducements held out to boys in this town, they are of a low order in every respect, and that this has a deleterious effect on their present influence in the school, and suggests serious apprehension for the character of the future schoolmasters of the country. The amount paid to male pupil-teachers is probably quite enough in agricultural districts; but the case is quite different here. It is not natural that a boy should accept 75*l.*, with wholesome restrictions on his liberty for five years, when he can have 100*l.* with a mischievous amount of freedom for the same period. It is true that his views might be different, if he took everything into account, and looked forward ten years; but it is not in the nature of a boy to take everything into account, and look far forward. It is well argued, in mercantile language, that it is bad policy to engage a boy at a payment below the market value of his abilities. This moral, physical, and intellectual commodity commands a far higher price; and hence in the school we must be content with an article below mediocrity. A Church of England master of long experience says: "Two of my pupil-teachers, when receiving *con-*"*ditionally* 5*s.* 9*d.* per week, were offered 10*s.* per week in offices; "and one in his fifth year, receiving 7*s.* 8*d.*, was offered 35*s.* per "week." A clergyman says, on the other hand, in reference to female pupil-teachers: "As to girls, almost all in the first class "with us seek to become pupil-teachers; and the best of them "will gladly remain a year longer in school, if they understand "that by that time they may get on the list of candidates." The same correspondent continues: "Boys and girls as pupil-teachers "start with 10*l.* per annum, increasing each year 2*l.* 10*s.* as

"they rise a class. If the girls began at 9*l.* and the boys "at 11*l.*, the effect would be better. Then the pupil-teachers "are paid once yearly, after passing a successful examination "with good character. It would be better if they were paid "at each six months half their stipend, depending on their exa- "mination, &c. The parents and pupil-teachers find twelve "months a long time to wait." The master of a school conducted by Unitarians suggests the following scale of payment: "For the first and second years, as at present; for the third year "17*l.*; for the fourth, 23*l.*; and for the fifth, 30*l.*; *i.e.*, 95*l.* "for the five years." He thinks it must ultimately come to this if the pupil-teacher system be continued. A Roman Catholic, well acquainted with the working of the system, makes a different suggestion, amounting, however, to nearly the same result, viz., "15*l.* for the first year, increasing to 25*l.* for the fifth year; "leaving the girls' payments as at present."

As to the *health* of pupil-teachers—a subject purposely put forward for inquiry—we hear of no complaints, except that there is a certain tendency among them (in common with all engaged in oral tuition) to affections of the throat and lungs. This may arise partly from the use of the voice, and partly from the commonly impure atmosphere of school-rooms.

It is gratifying that a favourable report is almost unanimously given of the *character* of pupil-teachers. I could give quotations from various sources confirmatory of their generally good and decorous behaviour, habits of industry, steadiness, moral principle, and efficient discharge of duty. Surprise, indeed, is expressed, that considering the temptations to which they are exposed, their conduct is so good. It is, however, noticed that their elevation may sometimes be dangerous to them, and that almost everything depends on the "watchful care, judgment, and tender attention of "those who are placed over them." One correspondent says that he finds that male pupil-teachers, while they do not fail in "general intelligence and skill in teaching," are yet often deficient in "religious convictions and general deportment," and either "slovenly or affected" in their dress and speech. He naturally alludes to the importance of attending well to these points in training colleges. Few things, indeed, are of greater moment to this country than the kind of character which is formed in training colleges, and this perhaps especially in the case of females. It must be remembered that young schoolmistresses in large towns are placed in a position of great trial. I myself have met with cases where it has seemed to me (as indeed is sometimes seen in higher classes of life) that the intellectual equipment has been far in advance of the solid formation of character. Here I cannot help quoting a sentence which occurs in one very valuable communication:—"We forbear to make any remark regarding the "character of female pupil-teachers. The very unwise selection "which has hitherto been made, and the evil results now apparent "in their character as mistresses of schools, does force upon us the "duty of making one suggestion, to stop, if possible, a wider "extension of the evil. Before a pupil-teacher is admitted into

"college, it would be well for the matron to be thoroughly "acquainted with the character of the girl by a confidential com- "munication with her late mistress." Our attention has been called to the fact, that Roman Catholic girls' and infants' schools are generally conducted by ladies belonging to some religious order, and that "each of these communities is willing to receive "the female apprentices into suitable houses, so that managers, "when they find it desirable, are able to bring candidates of "promise from distant places." It is added, that "the results are "excellent," as regards both the present conduct and future career of the young women.

Still the verdict concerning pupil-teachers, both male and female, is on the whole very satisfactory; and this leads to the concluding remark, that the country gains rather than loses in respect of those who ultimately turn to other employments. It is probably said with truth, that more do not leave this profession than other professions. While they are engaged in teaching, the country has the benefit of their labours at a cheap rate; and if they go elsewhere, they usually become the centres of wholesome moral influence. A habit of study, even though partially formed, is likely to lead to greater intelligence in any vocation; and practice in teaching is not a bad preparation for other practical employments.

The circular invited attention to two other subjects, which may be briefly noticed in conclusion, viz., SUNDAY SCHOOLS and INFANT SCHOOLS.

The true character of SUNDAY SCHOOLS is often expressed, and very truly, by the phrase "*necessary evils.*" It would be far better, if parents were willing and competent to give their children religious instruction on Sundays at home. It is generally agreed that the best part of religious instruction in school is given on the week days. The Sunday school is rather a religious and social, than a strictly educational instrument. It can do little either for giving or continuing general education. But it does much for keeping up parochial and congregational feeling, and for maintaining influence over boys and girls that have left school. One fact is very apparent in Liverpool, viz., that the strength of the Church of England is in week-day schools, and the strength of Dissenters in Sunday schools. The latter attend Church daily schools far more willingly than Church Sunday schools. In fact, as has been implied above, they attend such daily schools very willingly indeed, if only free play is left to the congregational agency on Sundays. It is also observed that very many children, who have been regularly educated in National schools, attach themselves afterwards to Nonconformist Sunday schools. Ample statistics could have been furnished in confirmation of these statements, but this is probably unnecessary. The general subject, however, is full of interest; and it is desirable to invite attention to the relative condition of different parts of the country in respect to it. In the large manufacturing towns and villages of the West Riding, the Sunday school is a more prominent feature than in Liverpool.

It would be difficult to state too strongly the feeling which is

expressed in favour of INFANT SCHOOLS. The time of early childhood is the period of most regular and continuous attendance, and therefore one of the best opportunities for beneficial influence; and it is generally agreed that those who have been at infant schools are usually the most satisfactory pupils afterwards. We do, indeed, obtain a certain difference of impression, according as we converse with the managers of schools, or with the parents of the children. The difference is similar to that which we have noticed above with regard to pupil-teachers. The parents are apt to say that too much attention is given in infant schools to mere routine—that the little children do not learn to read, or to know anything of arithmetic; and they begin to be impatient if they see, or fancy they see, the limited period of school instruction passing away without palpable results, and especially if they find that their children cannot be entered into the higher day school till the age of about seven. On the other hand, masters and mistresses give it as the result of their experience, that the subsequent progress of the infant school child is more rapid and more sure than that of the child from a small private adventure school, though the latter may know more and read better at a given age. Nothing is more probable than that the immediate results at an early age are fallacious, and that, even for ultimate intellectual results, the early formation of moral habits is all-important. As to the general moral and social results of infant schools, there seems to be no difference of opinion. It might be thought that they would tend to impair domestic feeling, and to diminish the fondness of mothers for their children, but there is no proof of this. One correspondent says: "Infant schools produce marked "and excellent effects upon the conduct and attainments of chil-"dren; and I do not believe that any evils result to poor "mothers from that relief and change which women of the upper "classes never fail to procure." Another expresses the matter thus: "Infant schools are a mercy both to mothers and infants; "the mother is not annoyed by her infant at her work, nor "wearied out by its demands, and is glad to greet it on returning "from school; and the little one, not being knocked about the "house, is glad to see its mother."

One moral seems to be very clearly pointed out by the facts and opinions embodied in this Report, viz., that if the wealthy do not forget the poor in consequence of being removed from immediate contact with them, if those who have the benefit of a higher culture are mindful of their ignorant fellow-townsmen, if the employers of labour realize the extent of their indirect influence over those whom they employ, if school managers and school teachers are assiduous in making themselves acquainted with the families which send children to their schools, the present system provides an efficient machinery for a vast development of popular education in its best form.

One practical suggestion also seems inevitable,—that some local provision is wanted for examining applications for aid, for estimating the wants and resources of known districts, for watching over the administration of funds, and for judging of the purposes

to which they are applied, and generally for aiding, by local knowledge and experience, the action which proceeds from the central power of the Privy Council. Even here, perhaps, it is desirable not to be in great haste. It is evident, as I observed last year in a paper read on a kindred subject, that a large amount of local activity is rising up in all parts of the country, in connexion with various educational schemes, such as the examinations of the Society of Arts and of the Universities. Is there not reason to hope, that if time is given for the growth of spontaneous organization, much may be done, without State interference, for a healthy combination of central and local action, and for the diffusion of good education in harmony with full religious freedom?

To the Editor of "The Liverpool Courier."

Sir,—I thank you for giving insertion to this long report. I feel that it is very unworthy of the rich materials which have been placed in my hands, and especially that more explicit conclusions might possibly have been drawn from the statistical returns. But I have spent as much time on this employment as is consistent with my appointed duties.

Among those who have contributed assistance in various ways, I think I ought to specify the Rev. W. M. Falloon, of St. Bride's; the Rev. T. C. Cowan, of St. Andrew's; the Rev. I. O. Powell, of St. Thomas's, Toxteth; the Rev. Dr. Taylor, of St. John's; the Rev. Dr. Hume, of Vauxhall; the Rev. H. Brown, of Tranmere; the Rev. W. E. Owen, of St. Barnabas's; the Rev. W. Hunt, of St. Columba's; Rev. J. S. Pickles, of St. Saviour's; and the Rev. J. Holmes, of the Kirkdale Industrial Schools; also, the Rev. J. Robberds, Unitarian minister, and the Rev. J. Nugent, of the Roman Catholic Institute. The following masters:—Mr. Nash, of St. Mary's School, Edge-hill; Mr. Hollaway, of Oxton School; Mr. Andrewes, of St. Thomas's School; Mr. Harris, of Waterloo School; Mr. Kay, of St. John's School; Mr. Bryan and Mr. Snape of the North and South Church of England Schools; Mr. Laycock, of St. Saviour's School; Mr. Jones, of the Hibernian Schools; and Mr. Taafe and Mr. Pryer, of the Harrington and Hope-street Schools. The following mistresses:—Mrs. Briarley, Miss Marshall, and Miss Holmes, of St. James's, St. Mary's, Edge-hill, and St. Mark's Schools, respectively. Also, Mr. Stokes, Inspector of Roman Catholic Schools; Mr. Kerr, of the Collegiate Institution; Mr. Aughe, Mr. Lane, Mr. Haslam, Mr. Bowden, Mr. Burkenshaw, Mr. R. Waterhouse, Mr. J. Hubback, Mr. D. Buxton, and Miss Gilpin.

I am, sir, your obedient Servant,

J. S. Howson.

The Rev. Hugh G. Robinson, M.A., Prebendary of York *and* Principal *of the* York Training College, Statement *on* Training Colleges.

My Lord Duke and Gentlemen, York, February 7, 1860.

Any inquiry into the state of National Education, or any examination of the educational machinery at present in operation in England, must include the numerous institutions for the training of elementary teachers which have, within the last twenty years, come into existence. These, indeed, form one of the most important and original features of the movement. They are veritable schools of the prophets,—centres from which issue those living forces which alone can make education a reality,—laboratories in which are originated and prepared those methods and that system which are now more or less adopted in every elementary school in the country.

Two specific considerations will, however, best illustrate the importance of these institutions, and the position they occupy in connexion with the educational movement. The first is *the work they have done and are doing.* There is a very large body of men and women now engaged in the business of education who have themselves been educated in the different training colleges. That body is continually increasing; every year materially swells its ranks. It is estimated that from all the colleges together nearly 1,500 young persons go forth annually to take charge of elementary schools. It is said that there are at present about 6,000 certificated teachers, and of these the great majority have, at some time or other, been resident in a training college. The other consideration referred to is *the annual cost of these establishments.* The Committee of Council estimate it at 70,000*l.*, and its tendency is to increase.

Now it may very well be asked, "Is this money being laid out "to the best advantage, and do these young persons justify, by "the influence they are exercising, the example they are setting, "the results they are producing, the system under which they "have been trained, and the pains that have been taken in "training them?"

My answer to such a question would, on the whole, be favourable and affirmative. I believe trained teachers to be in the main a valuable and right-minded body, and I am sure that the improvement of training colleges has, at least, kept pace with the increased grants made to them by the Committee of Council.

At the same time there are, in my opinion, defects in the system to which it is right that attention should be drawn, and those defects appear to me to be of a nature likely to affect, in

an important degree, the tone and character of those who are subjected to the system.

In order, however, to exhibit as clearly and definitely as possible my views on this subject, it may be well "altius repetere," to go more deeply into the question, and to take a survey of the rise and progress, as well as of the present constitution and character of training colleges.

I.—Rise and Progress.

The number of training colleges under Government inspection is 36, including those for females as well as males, and those in Scotland as well as England. I propose, however, to confine my observations to training colleges for schoolmasters, and more particularly to those institutions which are connected with the Church of England. Of these there are 15, some of which are diocesan, others connected with the National Society, and others under more general management.

Origin of the training system in Germany,

The idea of training persons for the office of teacher, though comparatively modern, must not be regarded as a discovery of our own time. I find that in 1697, Franké, founder of the Orphan House at Halle, selected from his pupils twelve who gave most promise of ability and piety, and constituted them his "Seminarium Preceptorum," or Teachers' Seminary. These young men received special instruction, and were put in charge of classes in the school of the establishment to acquire a practical knowledge of the art of teaching.

About 1704, one Steinmetz opened a class for teachers in the Abbey of Klosterberge, near Magdeburg, and in 1730, lectures on the best methods of teaching the Latin, Greek, and German languages were common in the principal universities and higher schools.

In 1735 a seminary for primary school teachers was established at Stettin, in Pomerania.

Other institutions of a similar character were opened in other parts of Germany, and between 1770 and 1800 teachers' seminaries were introduced into nearly every German state, and were, with few exceptions, supported wholly or in part by the Govern-

and France.

ment. In France, again, as early as 1684, a movement was made for providing qualified teachers by the foundation of the training establishment for the Institute of the Brothers of Christian Schools. In 1811 an institution was opened at Strasburg for the training of primary school teachers. Students were admitted into this institution between the ages of 16 and 30, the course of instruction was professional, and scholarships were given, the holders of which were obliged to serve for ten years as teachers in the schools of the department.*

I cannot discover that anything was done in England towards the professional training of teachers before the beginning of the

* Appendix, Note A.

present century. In 1808 the British and Foreign School Society set forth the training of teachers in the methods pursued in the Borough Road School as one of the cardinal objects of the Society. The National Society was about the same time making provision in connexion with their school at Westminster, for giving professional instruction to candidates for the office of teacher. In 1826 a very great step was taken in the establishment of the Glasgow Normal Seminary, by Mr. Stow. First attempts in England.

But the first regular training school connected with the Church of England was opened at Battersea in 1840, by Mr. Kay (now Sir J. K. Shuttleworth), and Mr. Tufnel. Opening of Battersea college.

This establishment was subsequently handed over to the National Society, and received a more perfect organization and a regular staff of officers. It started from small beginnings, but continued steadily to progress and improve, and now, perhaps, deserves to be regarded as occupying the first place among training colleges. The founding of Battersea College was speedily followed by that of St. Mark's, Chelsea, which was soon impressed with a distinctive character of its own, and became the representative of a thoughtful and intelligent High Church type of training. At St. Mark's the schoolmaster was regarded as semi-clerical in character,—he was surrounded with the associations of the Church,—he was required to attend her daily services,—he was carefully instructed in her formularies, and his whole course of education was to a certain extent theological and classical. Music, as a necessary consequence, received a large share of his attention. It was the great aim of the founders of St. Mark's to turn out living educators, and not merely educating machines, and it cannot be doubted that a large measure of success has attended their operations.

The training-school movement, thus commenced, spread rapidly, and diocesan institutions sprang up in various parts of the country. One of the earliest of these foundations was the training establishment at Chester, which deserves notice for the combination of industrial with literary and professional training by which it is characterized. It is in natural science that the college at Chester has been most successful, but it is a question how far the skill of the carpenter or the smith is necessary or useful for schoolmasters in a country like England, where the principle of the division of labour is so fully carried out. In addition to those already mentioned the principal training colleges at present in operation are to be found at Cheltenham, York, Durham, Saltley, near Birmingham, Culham (Oxford), Highbury, Exeter, and Winchester. Other institutions founded.

Amongst all these institutions there is a family likeness; at all the same course of study is pursued, and the same organization and discipline, with slight variations, are in force. Possibly, indeed, it would have been better if there had been greater individual differences, and more specific individual development amongst them.

I propose now to take a survey of their

II.—Internal Constitution.

Class of pupils formerly admitted.

1. And in the first place a complete and most important change has taken place with respect to the class of pupils admitted into training colleges. At the first outset there was, of course, no body of probationers like the present pupil-teachers available for the supply of the institutions. It was necessary to take such as offered themselves from various classes of society, and frequently from occupations altogether unconnected with literature or education.

From one of the earliest reports of the Rev. H. Moseley, Her Majesty's Inspector of Training Colleges, I extract the following statement in reference to the students in Battersea College:—

"It appears that 27, being *one-third* of the whole number, had been schoolmasters or assistants in schools; 10, or *one-eighth* master tradesmen or manufacturers; 13, clerks, shopmen, or overlookers; 13, skilled workmen in various manufacturing arts; 5, shoemakers or tailors; 4, labourers; 2, gentlemen's servants; 1, a surgeon; 1, a master mariner; and 4, of no previous occupation."

Now, as one of the fruits of the pupil-teacher system, the great bulk of the students under training in the normal colleges, consists of those who have served an apprenticeship in elementary schools. It may be mentioned in passing, that for a brief interval, when the supply of the former class of pupils was from various causes beginning to fail, and before the number of pupil-teachers who had completed their apprenticeship was sufficiently large to fill the colleges, there was a scarcity of candidates for admission into the normal schools; and as a consequence these institutions experienced a financial crisis, which was very nearly proving fatal to some of them.

There is no longer any reason to feel apprehension with regard to a failure in the supply of pupils. The supply will, I doubt not, continue to be at least equal to the demand, and the chief care will be to prevent it from too greatly exceeding it.*

Present class of pupils.

2. The change described as having taken place in the character of the pupils under training has necessarily affected the tone and system of the colleges. The former class of pupils consisted of men of maturer age and more knowledge of the world than those who supplanted them. In 1847 the average age of the Battersea students was nearly 24, and amongst the residents were men 30 and 40 years old. At present the average age will certainly not exceed, and perhaps scarcely reach, 20 years.

Again, of the former class of pupils many no doubt presented themselves for training from a love for the work of education, and with an earnest purpose of devoting themselves heartily to it. Others were selected by friends and patrons because they exhibited a more than average amount of sobriety of character, and gave promising indications of piety and studious habits. Some probably had failed in other occupations, and turned to the calling

* Appendix, Note B.

of teacher in default of something else to do. A few were sent to the training colleges by the clergy or country gentlemen, unquestionably for no other reason but because they laboured under such bodily infirmities as made it impossible for them to get their living by manual labour.

Estimate of their character and qualifications.

Now, the pupils who form the staple of our present supply are of a very different cast. They all bring with them to the training college a certain amount of professional knowledge, but they do not all necessarily exhibit any decided aptitude for the office of teacher. They have, of course, been selected for apprenticeship in the elementary schools at an age when it was not easy to discover their probable character and qualifications; and consequently we find among them several who give little promise of ever becoming valuable or efficient schoolmasters. But, on the other hand, there is no doubt that a large per-centage consists of men who, both as regards character, ability, and aptitude for school work, are very hopeful. Individual instances of self-denial and devotion to work for work's sake may not be so common amongst them as amongst their predecessors; but the comparative absence of that self-devotedness, which is rarely found in youth of any class, is in some degree compensated by the presence of generous emulation, devotion to study, heartiness, and sympathy. The charge of conceit and self-sufficiency has been brought against the present class of students and teachers. There is, perhaps, some foundation for it. It is not unlikely that the position of a pupil-teacher may tend to generate a somewhat pretentious manner of thinking and acting; and still more true is it that self-sufficiency is the inherent and constitutional fault of youth, and the great majority of our trained and certificated teachers are very young. It would, however, be unjust to stigmatize trained teachers as *specially* and *par excellence* a conceited set of men.

How the older and maturer class of students that formerly filled our colleges used to comport themselves in *statu pupillari*, I do not know, but I think it likely that they were more sedate and unimpulsive than their youthful successors. At the same time, I can bear testimony to the fact that the present class of pupils are a very manageable body of young men. They are not free from some of the *follies* of youth, but they have little opportunity, and with few exceptions, no great tendency, to indulge in its *vices*. They submit readily to authority; they are sensible of kindness and sympathy; they are easy to teach, and generally they exhibit great eagerness to learn. There are, indeed, few among them who are not ambitious of distinction, or at least of success, in the Government examinations.

Industrial employment.

I find by reference to inspectors' reports and other records that at the first establishment of training colleges a considerable amount of industrial work devolved on the students. They used in many cases to make their own beds, clean their own rooms, wait upon themselves at table, &c. They also spent a portion of each day in spade husbandry. Much less of this kind of work is now required from them, and the change had become absolutely

necessary from the increased pressure of their literary and professional studies. Still, in most colleges they have some industrial duties to perform, and this is, I think, desirable, as tending to check the growth of any "fine gentleman airs" among them. Above all, horticulture should be insisted upon wherever the arrangements of the institution admit of it.

Internal economy.

3. This seems to me the proper place to give a sketch of the internal management of a training college; and I necessarily select that at York, as being the one with which I have to do, and with which, therefore, I am intimately conversant.

Admission of pupils.

As a rule, pupils are admitted only after the Christmas vacation, and those who enter the college at that time are, with few exceptions, candidates who have been successful in the preceding Queen's scholarship examination. As the period of training extends over two years, the resident students are classed in two great divisions, viz., *students of the first year* and *students of the second year.*

Apportionment of time.

Class-rooms are assigned to these divisions, and in those class-rooms the lectures are delivered, the exercises performed, and the private studies of the pupils carried on. There is a common room used for collective musters of the students and for general purposes. There is also a common dining-hall, in which the students take their meals, and where the resident masters also (with the exception of the Principal) breakfast, dine, and sup at a higher table. Each student has a separate dormitory or bed room, but access to this is only permitted at certain times and under certain restrictions. The hour for rising is in summer at half-past five, in winter at six o'clock. A bell is rung by a monitor as the signal for rising, and half an hour afterwards it is rung again, when the students assemble for roll-call; then follows an hour of private study; then chapel and breakfast. At nine o'clock lectures commence, and continue till twelve. The hour of dinner is one, and the afternoon course of lectures commences at half-past two and continues till half-past five. At six o'clock the students meet for evening service in chapel; at half-past six they have tea; at seven o'clock they sit down to private study, and continue thus employed till half-past nine, when they prepare for bed. This is the regular routine, and except that Wednesday and Saturday are half-holidays, there is no deviation from it. It will be seen that a system like this makes considerable demands on the time and powers of the students, and leaves little opportunity for indulgence in frivolity or dissipation.

Discipline and Government.

The discipline of the college is carried on through the instrumentality of monitors. These are selected by the Principal from the ablest and best conducted of the students, and they enjoy certain privileges and a status superior to their fellows. It is their business to watch over the conduct of the main body, to preserve silence and good order during the hours of private study, and generally to exercise a wholesome influence by their tone and example. One of their number occupies the position of senior monitor, and the rest are under his direction. It is his

duty to enter in a book all offences, breaches of discipline, &c., that may come under his cognizance. This book is delivered by him to one of the masters, who examines into the several cases, and enters all that seem to deserve more particular notice in another book, which is sent in to the Principal. All those cases which are thus reported to the Principal are investigated by him, and the offender receives from him a fitting admonition. As it is known that it operates seriously against a student if his name is often to be found in the Principal's report book, the students are naturally very careful to avoid incurring such a report as shall place their names there, and proportionally uneasy and disquieted when such a misfortune befalls them. Hence no *positive* punishment is required, and indeed some experience has convinced me that the system of direct impositions and penalties which once prevailed is inexpedient, and prejudicial to the tone and character of the students.

General tone and spirit of the place.

4. That which, in an institution like a training college, is most difficult to define and reduce to a matter of statistics, is the pervading spirit of the place. How, for instance, must we answer such questions as the following? Is there among students in training colleges a generally prevailing sense of decency and purity as regards manners and conversation? Do truthfulness and integrity, and honourable feelings generally actuate their deportment? Is there any genuine spirit of religion among them, or any great reverence for religious ordinances? Simply to answer these queries in the affirmative would be to convey a wrong impression. Students in training colleges are all young men. They, therefore, like other students, have the impulsiveness, the thoughtlessness, the passions of young men. Again, they are mostly selected from a class which has been very little in contact with refinement or self-control, or delicate appreciation of what is elevated and honourable. Moreover, though the majority of them have been pupil-teachers, apprentices to a schoolmaster, and under the surveillance of a clergyman, I do not, *as a rule*, find that any particular pains have been taken with their religious training. Taking all these things into consideration, I do not hesitate to say that their general tone and spirit and deportment are creditable. I do not think gross or immodest conversation would be tolerated in their common room. If some of the coarser spirits were inclined to it, it would be checked promptly and sternly by the better men. They do not indeed, as a body, bring with them to the training college a very high sense of honour, but they certainly show hemselves capable of being impressed with such a feeling, and when the virtues of manliness, integrity, and truthfulness, have been properly urged and illustrated for their benefit, they often respond very encouragingly to the challenge, verifying Cicero's postulate, "quod verum, simplex, sincerumque, sit id esse naturæ hominis aptissimum." I believe, too, that there is circulating amongst them some leaven of religious principle, though they would be grievously disappointed who expected to find in the

Moral and religious feeling.

majority any very settled habits of devotion or any great religious earnestness.

The spirit of *reverence*, properly so called, is generally wanting. I find it most frequently in those who have been brought up under what are called High Church influences, and as I am not myself a High Churchman, this admission will appear all the more candid and trustworthy. It is, obvious, however, that the authorities of an institution are in a great degree responsible for the tone that distinguishes it. Some, indeed, seem to expect too much from us. The clergy, naturally enough, fancy that the schoolmasters moulded and prepared for them in the normal colleges shall necessarily be pious, earnest, humble men, as well as efficient teachers. Perhaps, in strictly requiring this at our hands, they do not consider that two years is but a limited time in which to change or establish a character, and possibly they forget to ask themselves whether they for their part are paying such attention to the pupil-teachers under their control as shall lay a good foundation for the superstructure which it is our business to erect.

III.—The Course of Study.

In describing the course of study pursued in the training colleges it will be necessary to consider (1.) what may be called the *literary*, and (2.) the *professional* department.

First notions of professional training crude and defective.

1. At the first beginning of the training system, the notions with regard to direct professional instruction were very crude and imperfect. Amongst the promoters and managers of normal schools, there were few who had any practical acquaintance with the requirements of elementary education, and still fewer who had any conception of teaching, either as an art to be acquired, or a science to be studied.

The pupils of training colleges were therefore in the first instance instructed in those subjects only which are usually taught in schools; many of them indeed, were so ignorant that they had to be disciplined in the very simplest rudiments of learning.

Slender attainments of the students formerly admitted into training colleges.

The earlier reports of Her Majesty's inspectors testify most strongly to the shortcomings of the elder generations of students. Want of fluency in reading, false spelling, ungrammatical composition, ignorance of common historical facts, imperfect acquaintance with the most elementary rules of arithmetic, were by no means exceptional features in a training school examination. A glance at the character of the papers now set for Government certificates, and fairly answered by the majority of students, will show the advance that has been made in the course of less than 20 years. At the beginning of that period a small per-centage only of the students in training competed for a certificate, and a still smaller per-centage were successful—now in most of the training colleges failure is the exception, and not five per cent. fail.*

Great improvement.

* Appendix, Note C.

Where anything above and beyond the rudiments was taught or attempted to be taught, recourse was had by a kind of instinct to the usages of the Universities, and Greek, Latin, High Mathematics and Logic, were pressed into the service. Remembering the sort of stuff of which the raw material of the college had in earlier days consisted, I was at once surprised and amused to find, as relics of the past, now "in unregarded corners thrown," numerous copies of Herodotus, Æschylus, Virgil, Cicero, Whateley's logic, &c. &c., which had once been pored over by half-awakened intellects recent from shop-board and plough. But a change came over the spirit of these institutions, and attempts at classical culture were laid aside just about the time when a better-prepared and intellectually more vigorous class of pupils began to find their way to the college. I do not, however, wish to imply that the public school and university course of instruction is very suitable for training colleges. The consideration that the students are drawn from a very different class, that the time devoted to their education is much shorter, that their previous instruction has been less perfect, that their future career is to be so different, makes it obvious that what is the best kind of education at Trinity or Christchurch, will be very much out of place in the meridian of Battersea or St. Mark's. This indeed was very soon felt, and then the authorities of training colleges went into the opposite extreme. It came to be recognized as a principle, that candidates for the office of schoolmaster should have their mental training through the medium of those subjects of instruction which they would afterwards be required to impart to others. The training college programme now includes Scripture history, the history of England, from the landing of Julius Cæsar to the accession of Queen Victoria, geography (almost unlimited), English grammar, arithmetic, algebra, Euclid, drawing, music, and school management.

Misdirected efforts at classical culture.

Revolution in the course of study.

Subjects which form the course.

In Church of England colleges, the Catechism, Liturgy, and a portion of Church history are also added, while in the second year there is a special subject for more advanced students. This special subject allows the alternative of higher mathematics, physical science, mechanics, Latin, or English literature. I propose to make the character of the college course the ground of a few remarks under another heading. Meantime, for a more exact and detailed account of the course of study, I would refer to the Government syllabus, a copy of which accompanies this sketch.

A few remarks will be necessary with regard to the *mode* in which the students are instructed. And the prevailing plan of instruction is by means of *lectures*. In one or two colleges preference is, I believe, given to the use of text books, but oral teaching finds favour in the majority. The multiplicity of subjects and the pressure of work, make it necessary to employ a strong staff of teachers, and the usual practice is to assign certain subjects to particular teachers, and to allow those teachers

The lecturing system;

its use.

to devote themselves exclusively to the subjects entrusted to them.

While the teacher is lecturing, the students usually take notes, and these notes serve them as text-books from which they "get up" the particular subject for the Government examination. It is obvious that where such a plan of instruction is adopted, it is necessary either to revise the note-books of the students very diligently or to take care that what they set down is quite accurate, and comprehends the essential points of the lesson. A skilful lecturer will make great use of the black board, and will provide that the main heads of his lecture shall be exhibited there for the guidance of his pupils.

and abuse. My own impression is, that generally we rather overdo the lecturing system. Too large a proportion of time is devoted to lectures; too short a space to study and digestion. The use, again, of manuscript note-books increases the student's labour; it is not so easy to get up a subject from written notes, as from a printed text-book, and the work of note-taking becomes from habit so mechanical, that for the most part it involves very little activity of mind. I am well aware that if the present *mode* of teaching be defective, the authorities of training schools are mainly responsible, for they have devised it, and it is in the power of any of them to alter or modify it. At the same time I also feel that we are placed in a slight difficulty by the great *multiplicity of subjects.* In order to carry our students fairly through the prescribed course, we must extend our lectures over an average of at least five hours daily, while the range taken by the Government papers is so wide that no existing text-books with which I am acquainted would enable a student to deal with them very successfully.

Professional trainin- It remains to speak of the more directly professional training of the pupils. With regard to this I have already intimated that at the outset very little was attempted, for very little was understood; gradually, however, the science of method, as it is sometimes called, began to be evolved, and various appliances were introduced for teaching it. We may consider these under the heads of (1) *Theory*, and (2) *Practice.* The *theory* of school management is imparted to the students in lectures. To all, or nearly all, the training colleges is attached an officer called the

Lectures of the Normal Master. *normal master*, or *master of method*, whose special business it is to give professional instruction to the students. A complete course of lectures on school management will include all that has to do with the organization and discipline of a school, as for example, the arrangement of desks, forms, &c. in the school-room, the apportionment of the time to the different lessons, the classification of the children, the question of rewards and punishments. The course will further embrace the method of teaching particular subjects, the mode of keeping registers, the most suitable text-books, and the difficulties, responsibilities, trials of the schoolmaster's position. Mere theory, however, can but very imperfectly prepare students for the practice of their profession.

There is indeed some danger, lest lectures on a professional subject should become simply expositions of abstract generalities, and, as the disquisitions of ancient philosophers on the nature of virtue did little to make men virtuous, so it is possible that the lectures of a normal master on the art of teaching may sometimes be found of little avail to make men teachers. Still I can bear testimony to the fact that a Normal Master's lectures may be very valuable and very much to the purpose; and at all events provision is made in the majority of training colleges for supplementing *theory* with *practice*. To this end what is called a practising school is attached to the institution. This school differs in no material respects from an ordinary National school; the children of the neighbourhood are received into it as pupils, the usual payment is made by those who attend, and the usual course of instruction is pursued. Into this practising school a certain number of the students of the training college are sent, according to a system of weekly rotation, and they work there under the general superintendence of the Normal Master, and under the more immediate direction of the master of the school. During their week's service in this school they are required to take charge of a certain class, to prepare notes of the lessons they give, and to teach in the presence of the Principal and the Normal Master. I am detailing the plan pursued at York, which will, I imagine, agree in principle with what may be found in operation in most training colleges. The lessons which the students give are carefully criticised, and the classes under their charge faithfully examined. They receive a printed form of notice at the end of the week, containing an estimate of the value and merit of their work, and such cautions and directions as seem most called for by the way in which they have acquitted themselves. A full report of the results of each man's service for the week is drawn up by the Normal Master and sent in to the Principal.

The practising school.

Methods pursued in connexion with it.

At York we have recently established a model school in addition to the previously existing practising school. This model school is intended to exhibit, as far as possible, a perfect example of what an elementary school ought to be, and it is our aim to introduce into it the best apparatus and the best methods of teaching. Into this school the students are sent towards the close of their college course. They do not, however, take any part in the work of the school; their duty is merely to *observe*. In order to secure their attention they are required to take notes of the methods pursued, to examine the text-books in use, to listen to the lessons given, and afterwards to draw up a report of all they have seen and heard. I may add, that another use of the model school is to furnish data and illustrations for the Normal Master's lectures.

Use of a model school.

The students of the second year are required to give a lesson in the presence of Her Majesty's Inspector, and this exercise has a considerable effect in determining the student's place in the class list. It has been contended that this lesson affords a very imperfect criterion of a candidate's teaching powers, while it de-

Lesson in the presence of the Government Inspector.

cides nothing as to his general aptitude for managing a school. This may be true, but it must at the same time be remembered that the fact of having to give such a lesson, and the knowledge that it affects the student's position, operate very materially to secure attention to the art of teaching; and in preparing to make a good appearance before the Inspector the candidate necessarily undergoes a great deal of useful training, and attains a certain amount of professional skill.

Another branch of the subject now demands attention.

IV.—Training College Finances.

Sources of revenue.

The training colleges are supported partly by Government, partly by local contributions. Those under the control of the National Society are of course assisted out of the National Society's funds. The diocesan institutions receive grants from diocesan boards of education. The college at York, for instance, is supported by the educational boards of York and Ripon jointly. It must, however, be observed that in almost every case the chief burden of expenditure is borne by the State. For instance, this institution has received from Government, during the past year about 2,900*l.*, while the joint boards will be found to have contributed about 300*l.* The Government grants are made in a twofold form. First, on account of every Queen's scholar resident in a training college the sum of 23*l.* is paid to the institution by order of the Committee of Council. Secondly, a bonus of from 13*l.* to 24*l.* (according to standing and class), is paid from the public grant for every student whose name appears in the class list. Thus, I find that on the whole an average of 38*l.* is paid by Government for each resident student. The average cost of maintenance, including tuition, board, washing, &c., may be estimated at about 45*l.* per man, hence something like 84 per cent. of the cost will, as a rule, be defrayed out of the public money.*

Nature and amount of pecuniary aid afforded by Government.

Government Lectureships.

But after all, even this does not fully represent what is contributed by Government to the training colleges. Many of the masters employed in these institutions hold certificates, and every master holding a certificate receives the usual augmentation of salary paid by the Committee of Council to certificated masters. Moreover, some time since, the Committee of Council established lectureships in history, geography, physical science, applied mathematics, and English literature. A certain number of lecturers, proportioned to the number of resident students, is allowed to each college, and these lecturers receive 100*l.* per annum out of the public fund in augmentation of their salaries.

Now, if I say that no part of the public grant for educational purposes is better disposed of than that which is laid out on the training colleges, I shall perhaps excite a suspicion that I am not altogether disinterested in putting forward such an opinion.

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* Appendix, Note D.

I will therefore take other ground. I do not think that the training colleges can spare this money. It has become absolutely necessary to their existence, and that necessity has arisen in a very great degree from the pressure of Government requirements. The number of subjects in the syllabus requires a large staff of teachers. The high standard of attainment which the examination papers presuppose in the candidates calls for considerable ability and scholarship on the part of those teachers. Again, it is very difficult to obtain an adequate measure of voluntary support. The best friends of education think they have enough to do to support elementary schools in their own neighbourhoods, and there is a growing feeling that central institutions like training colleges should look mainly to the Government for support. I do not hesitate to say that the withdrawal of even a very moderate proportion of the amount now received from Government, say 20 per cent., would seriously embarrass this training college, and probably compel us to reduce our machinery to a point below efficient working order, or possibly to shut up altogether.

Absolute necessity of liberal grants from the public funds.

V.—Concluding Observations.

I propose, in conclusion, to offer a few remarks on one or two points of the training school system, and in doing so I will make the interrogatories of the Education Commissioners the foundation of my observations.

1. One of these interrogatories is the following:—

> Is the state of those institutions (training colleges) generally satisfactory?

General efficiency of training colleges.

This question may, I think, safely be answered in the affirmative. At all events, the following statements cannot, I believe, be disproved:—

(1.) There is a great deal of hard work done in training colleges both by masters and students. Nowhere probably among a body of young men preparing for the business of life is there so little idleness and dissipation.

(2.) There is very little opportunity for the students of training colleges to indulge in irregularities or to consort with improper companions. Of course it is not *impossible* for them to do so if they are determined on it, but they have not much time or money at their disposal, and the consequences of detection are so fatal to their future prospects that they can only sin with great fear and trembling. Besides no set of young men of the same age, as far as I know, are kept under such close restraint. With us at least none of them can leave the grounds after half-past two o'clock, except on Wednesdays and Saturdays, without permission, and that permission is only given when there is a special reason for it.

(3.) I have already expressed an opinion that the money granted to these institutions is well laid out. Certainly it is

not wasted on superfluities. The dietary is very plain, the furniture very simple. The masters are not overpaid, and the students are not greatly indulged. No indirect or official expenditure is allowed to make demands on the resources, but what is spent is spent fairly to pay officers and servants, to feed the residents, to provide books, stationery, &c., and to meet the legitimate demands of renewal and repair.

(4.) Again the training colleges cannot, I think, be charged with any tendency to encourage partizanship, or to excite discontent with existing institutions. Church of England colleges may indeed as a rule be expected to exhibit a conservative aspect and spirit, but it seems to me that there is very little active feeling with regard to political or ecclesiastical questions among the students. When such feeling manifests itself at all, it generally finds material for its exercise in some of the past events of history. The merits or demerits of the House of Stuart, the character of Cromwell, and the policy of William III. are more likely to be debated, and to divide the institution than the claims of Lord Derby or the Reform Bill of Mr. Bright.

2. Another inquiry put forth by the Commissioners is to the following effect:—

> "Is the training given to masters and mistresses in normal schools and training colleges well adapted to its object?"

I must answer this at some length. In the first place then I admit that there is much that is valuable in the existing course of study, and in the methods of training pursued. But the system is characterised by some important faults and deficiencies.

Examination of the programme of subjects studied in training colleges.

(1.) Let us look at the programme of subjects required to be known by the students. Their character and their number at once indicate that the present course pursued in training schools tends to *impart information* rather than to *develope the faculties and to discipline the mind.* Vast demands are made on the memory, little is done for the improvement of the judgment or reasoning powers. The principle in short, which the course of study virtually recognizes is, to pour into the students' minds a large supply of knowledge which they in turn may discharge into the minds of their scholars, rather than to give them that disciplined intellect which enables a man to obtain for himself and apply information as he wants it. To use a very significant and very intelligible expression, the great feature of the course of study pursued in training colleges is *cram.* In such subjects as Old Testament history, Church history, outlines of English history, there is necessarily an immense preponderance of names, dates, and facts, which have to be *remembered* but not *digested.*

Chief defects.

Now what is the effect of this system? I can vouch for two consequences which may fairly be charged upon it.

(*a.*) The students work hard, but a great deal of their work is routine and mechanical. They can in an examination reproduce what they have learnt, but if thrown upon their own mental resources and required to *apply* their knowledge, to make new combinations, or to draw inferences, immediately they are at a loss. On the whole they leave the institution with *full* but comparatively *languid* and *unbraced* minds.

(*b.*) Another consequence of the system of study is that in very few cases is a taste for reading formed among trained pupils. It will not, I suspect, be found that schoolmasters are a very studious or a very literary body. They themselves say that the weary round of text-books, note-books, technical manuals, &c., which forms the main part of their intellectual nutriment at college has the effect of destroying their appetite for study.

The prevailing system of instruction has been defended by some on the following grounds :—

Grounds on which the present system is defended shown to be invalid.

(*a.*) First it is urged that as the future business of the students will be to teach many of the subjects referred to, so the business of the training college authorities must be to provide that the students shall themselves be acquainted with them.

But then I would urge in reply that the students will never be required to teach much of what they are compelled to learn. For example, in what village school is it likely that lessons will ever be given on the history of the Christian Church during the 15th century? To what generation of labourers' children will it ever be expedient to discourse on the Schism of the Papacy, the Council of Basle, the Pragmatic Sanction, or the wars of the Hussites?

Again, a mere knowledge of facts is so uncertain and evanescent a possession that it does not follow because a student knows the names of all the kings of Israel and Judah, and the dates of all the minor Prophets when he leaves the training college that he will know them six months afterwards.

Yet once more, I believe that the system we are considering operates unfavourably on the teaching in elementary schools.* It causes that teaching to be too much a retailing of facts and names. The master has been *crammed* himself, and so he *crams* his pupils.

(*b.*) Another argument in favour of the present course is that it is most easily brought to the test of an examination. This is true. It is easier to find out what men know than what they can do; but still, if it be possible to devise a course of study which shall really discipline the mind, it

* Appendix, Note E.

must be possible to test in a positive and definite way the results of that course of study. As it is, if students could be examined again, without notice or preparation, six months after they had passed the Government examination with credit, it would, I imagine, be discovered that a great deal of that information with which they had been loaded that they might discharge it upon their future scholars, had already evaporated, and that minds once blown out with *cram* had strangely collapsed and become what Bacon calls "poor shrunken things."

Insufficient attention paid to professional training.

(2.) Another weak point in the opinion of many in connexion with the training system is the comparatively small proportion of time and attention given to *professional* training. Assuredly more might be done in this way with advantage. At present, in an institution containing 80 pupils, each pupil will, on the average, spend about three weeks of the year in the practising school, and the discipline that he passes through there, added to what he may glean from the lectures of the normal master, forms the sum total of his *professional* training. As things are now this cannot be helped. There is really no time for doing more. I have already said more than once that the multiplicity of subjects to be mastered makes such urgent and incessant demands on the time of the students that they have little or no leisure, and the only effect of increased attention to school management would be diminished success in the Government examination.

Importance of enforcing a two years' residence upon all students.

(3.) Another defect in the system is that students are allowed to leave the training college and to assume the position of certificated teachers after one year's course of study. This may have been necessary or expedient at an earlier period when the demand for teachers was very active, and the educational system less developed, but now it is not, I think, *necessary*, and it is, I am sure, very *inexpedient*. A year's training does very little for most men. Every Principal of a training school will admit that it is only during the second year's residence that he gets any thorough insight into the real character of his pupils or is able to decide with confidence as to their moral and intellectual qualifications. Moreover the training college only begins to *tell* upon the student in his second year. It is then that he first yields himself to its best influences; it is then that he begins to be conscious of the growth of improved habits and more refined feelings; it is then that his faculties begin to expand under the course of instruction.

In my opinion a rigid enforcement of the rule of a two years' residence is urgently called for, and it is from the Committee of Council that this enforcement must come.

3. Referring to the course of training, the Commissioners ask the following question:—"Can you suggest any points in which

"it requires improvement?" I have already intimated that the besetting evil of the course is too many subjects, and too much cram. I venture to make the following suggestions:—

Suggestions for an improved programe of studies.

(1.) Let the Queen's scholarship examination or any examination for admission into a training school provide that the candidate shall have an adequate knowledge of the subjects taught in an elementary school.

This knowledge will then be acquired at a time when the mind is most fitted for acquiring it, and when the exercise of the memory is most desirable. As a matter of fact, the Queen's scholarship examination does in the main provide for this, and with slight modifications might be made completely to do so.

(2.) Let the studies pursued in the training school be more directly arranged with a view to the two points of *mental discipline* and *professional qualification.*

Let those subjects be put prominently forward the study of which is really a good training for the mind.

I would myself give especial prominence to geometry and language. Euclid is fairly mastered by the majority of students already, but they have not sufficient time for exercise in geometrical problems. A certain amount of Latin ought to be required from all, and English grammar and composition ought to be taught far more thoroughly and efficiently than they are. Command of language is of the first importance to a schoolmaster, and it is the one thing in which I find students generally deficient. In composition again they do little because little is required by the conditions of the examination, and generally their composition is stiff, inelegant, sometimes ungrammatical, and often startling from its quaint and unaccustomed phraseology.

(3.) Again, I would suggest that after the students have passed what we may call a *little go,* they should be required to confine themselves to a very limited number of subjects, and that in those subjects should be the examination which is to decide their place in the class-list and their ultimate certificate.

would illustrate what I mean by the following programme.

Section A.	Acts of the Apostles, and an Epistle of St. Paul.	
,, B.	School Management.	
,, C.	Mathematics -	Algebra. Geometry. Trigonometry and Mechanics.
,, D.	Language - -	Latin Grammar and Simple Translation. English Grammar and Select Authors.
,, E.	Moral Science -	A Period of English History. Political Economy.
,, F.	Physical Science -	Chemistry, Natural Philosophy, or Geology.

Every student must take (A.) and (B.), and must also select *two,* and *not more than two* of the other sections.

(4.) I have already pressed the subjects of a two years' residence, and of increased attention to *professional* training.

The necessary evil of herding too much together incident to students in training colleges.

4. On one point I have said nothing, and though I see the evil, I can suggest no remedy. Students in a training school are, considering their age and circumstances, too *gregarious;* they live too much in a mass. They study together, they take all their meals together, they occupy a common room in the intervals of recreation, they have no privacy, they are scarcely ever alone except when in bed. Hence there is little opportunity for self-recollection or private meditation; little opportunity for the practice of private religious exercises. There are reasons why it is inexpedient to give them free access to their dormitories, though some would, I believe, appreciate such a privilege, and turn it to good account. It cannot be altogether good for young men to be made to pass through this phase of schoolboy life, but it cannot, I suppose, be helped.

The Commissioners ask, "Are trained teachers usually satisfied with their profession and with their social position?"

View of their own calling and position taken by trained teachers.

Fairly so, I think, as a body. There are doubtless many in the profession who would be glad to leave it if they had the chance of employment equally remunerative. There is also a little current of agitation and discontent on the score of social position circulating amongst schoolmasters.

They naturally think more of what education has made them than of what it first found them. They easily lose sight of the fact that they have risen from a very humble social position, and they crave for that status which education seems generally to secure. I think too that in some cases they are too apt to forget that they owe the culture they have to the public provision made for them.

The faults already pointed out in the course of training will explain some of the faults of character in schoolmasters, but, after all abatements, I believe this body of men to be sound at heart, anxious to do their duty faithfully, loyal to their country, and in sympathy with those they have to instruct. Time will mellow the roughnesses and angularities of the class, and those who best know the disadvantages against which they have had to struggle, and the trials and difficulties of the work they have to do, will be most ready to acknowledge their merits, and most willing to excuse their failings.

I have the honour to be,
My Lord Duke and Gentlemen,
Your obedient Servant,
HUGH GEORGE ROBINSON,
Principal of York Training College.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

Overberg as a trainer of teachers.

IT is interesting to trace the rise and progress of an idea. In the Strasburg normal school we have the first faint outline of what has been matured in our present extended system of Queen's scholarships. So, too, I find that when Bernard Overberg first attempted to train schoolmasters in the province of Münster, he effected an arrangement by which a certain increase of salary, varying according to circumstances, was ensured to those teachers who proved their fitness for their office by successfully passing a certain examination. Here we have something like the plan adopted by the Committee of Council for augmenting the salaries of schoolmasters. I must take the opportunity to do here what I have neglected to do in the body of my communication, viz., to bear testimony to the exceeding merits of Overberg as a trainer of teachers. He fully appreciated the necessity of direct professional training, and his methods of imparting it seem to have been very good. Still more did he feel the importance of a formed moral and religious character in the schoolmaster—of earnest purpose and exalted views of the teacher's calling. His personal influence appears to have been very remarkable, and his success very great. His life, translated from the German by Hon. and Rev. George Spencer, deserves to be read by all teachers, and by all whose business it is to train teachers.

NOTE B.

Is the supply of teachers likely to exceed the demand?

Among the points that will speedily call for notice, is the question, whether, at the rate at which teachers are now sent forth from the training colleges, the supply will not ere long exceed the demand? I myself think it will, *supposing that all other conditions remain as they are, and the present educational system continue unmodified.* In reference to this matter, there are, however, considerable differences of opinion. As the question is important, I venture to devote a little space to its discussion. In the report of the Committee of Council on Education for 1858–9, p. 30, there is a calculation very much to our purpose. It is there stated that "at present the number of certificated "teachers is about 6,000, and we are in a position to augment this body "at the rate of 1,500 per annum, having now almost 3,000 students in "training, of whom half may be sent out in each year as teachers, and "in place of whom an equal number of Queen's scholars are ready to "be admitted. At this rate we should make up the number of 30,000 "certificated teachers in sixteen years from the present time, if we had "no losses to allow for." The points on which I wish to insist are, that we are manufacturing certificated teachers at the rate of 1,500 per annum; that at present we have about 6,000, and that in 1876 we shall have nearly 30,000.

The calculation of the Committee of Council under Lord Salisbury's Presidency examined.

Now, will there be employment for 30,000 certificated teachers in 1876? In order that there may, two conditions are necessary—

1. There must be at least 3,000,000 of children at school.
2. Only certificated teachers must be employed.

Can we guarantee these two conditions? The Committee of Council seem to think so, for they are carrying on the training system on that hypothesis; their calculation of the number of teachers required avowedly rests on that hypothesis.

But, in the first place, the number of children in attendance at schools under inspection, where certificated teachers are employed, at present comes very far short of 3,000,000. It amounts, in fact, to about 670,000, if we may trust the tabular statements in the Committee's report. Of course a considerable number of children are in attendance at elementary schools not under inspection; but after allowing for these, it is an undoubted fact that whereas 3,000,000 ought at this very time to be undergoing instruction in schools of the class we are concerned with, the whole number actually attending does not amount to 1,500,000.

We must next consider the probable ratio of increase. Referring to the reports of the Committee of Council, I find that for the last few years the increase in the attendance in schools under inspection has averaged about 100,000 per annum. A portion of this increase is due to the fact that additional schools have been placed on the inspectors' lists; and the remainder of it must be explained by some accession to the numbers attending schools already under inspection. Accepting, then, the yearly increase of 100,000 (which is a liberal estimate), it will follow that, supposing the rate to be maintained, in fifteen years' time 1,500,000 children will be found in schools under inspection over and above the 670,000 already there. In other words, we may expect to find, not 3,000,000, but 2,200,000 children in our inspected schools in the year 1876.

This estimate, of course, rests on the supposition that the existing system of education will not be disturbed. Any great addition to the public grant, combined with an extension of the educational machinery, might, of course, raise the numbers in attendance to 3,000,000, or even carry them beyond that amount. But we have no right to assume that any such extension will be effected, however much we may desire it; and at all events, the persons who are responsible for that report of the Committee of Council which I am examining, did not, in making their estimate, presuppose any new and more advanced educational measures, and would probably deprecate them, for the report was issued under the auspices of a Tory ministry.

Once more, in anticipating a yearly addition of 100,000 children to the number in attendance at schools employing certificated teachers, it is possible that, notwithstanding the continual increase of population, I may be making an over-estimate. Hitherto new schools have been continually rising up in populous places, but to this there must soon be an end. I observe, indeed, in the last returns that the proportion of school accommodation to attendance is greater than it was. In the year ending August 31st, 1857, the average attendance was 574,387; the accommodation available was adapted for 871,993. In the year ended August 31st, 1858, the average attendance was 672,728; the accommodation provided for, 1,012,554. Thus, while in 1857 the excess of accommodation over attendance is represented by 297,606, in 1858 it is represented by 339,826; this seems to indicate that, as things are now, school building must not be pushed too much. Besides, the majority of the schools not now under inspection are to be found in small villages where the population is scanty, and where there is no one able or willing to defray that expenditure which must be incurred as the condition of deriving any advantage from the public grant. There is little to induce the managers of such schools to put them under inspection, and they will come under that condition very slowly and

exceptionally. Were the inspector to go to such places, he would only seem to have come "to spy out the nakedness of the land." I think, then, that there is a possibility that in a short time the *rate of increase* in the attendance at schools under Government inspection may somewhat diminish, and I am the more inclined to fear this when I meet with such a passage as the following in the Report of my friend, the Rev. F. Watkins, our able and indefatigable Yorkshire inspector. Referring to a tabular statement of "school stay," he says, "It (the "Table) marks no great difference between this year and the last, or "that preceding it, *but the little change that it shows is for the worse, "and not for the better. It holds out no prospect of improvement.* It "tells the same oft-repeated tale, that *nearly nine-tenths of the children "of the working classes stay at school only about three years*, and are "then sent out to their work in life, not because they are fitted for it, "but that by actual and rough contact with it they may be fashioned "to its requirements."

I have gone into this question of the supply and demand of teachers at some length, because I confess to feel strong doubts of the soundness of those conclusions arrived at in the Report of the Committee of Council. Indeed, there is, in the Report itself, a very important qualification, "There is occupation for 30,000 teachers, *supposing none other be employed.*" True, provided you can secure that condition and provided you can guarantee an attendance of 3,000,000 of children. I do not think that the gradual operation of the present Government system, unmodified and undeveloped, will bring about those two conditions, even in the long lapse of 16 years. It certainly will not be for the immediate advantage of training colleges, that the numbers in training should be reduced. My wish would be to see the 30,000 masters secured with all convenient speed, but I should also wish to see such a corresponding development of national education as to make work for them. To accomplish that, a good many things must, I suspect, be done, which the country does not yet seem quite prepared to do. Meantime, can the matter be left to the natural laws of supply and demand? May we go on as we are in the faith that when situations become scarce, candidates for admission into the training schools will become scarce too?—I am not quite sure of that. The aforesaid natural law is, in this particular case, affected by more than one disturbing force.

Note C.

Provision teachers for small village schools.

It is well known that there are many schools, the managers of which cannot afford to engage the services of a certificated master, and the question has often been asked, "By what means can a supply of "teachers of a humbler grade be provided for schools of this cha-"racter?" The question is a difficult one to answer. Looking at the matter simply in the abstract, one is tempted to say, first, that no man ought to be recognized as a teacher of youth whose attainments fall below what will suffice for the lowest Government certificate; and, secondly, that no teacher of youth ought to receive less than 50*l.* in addition to the usual Government payments. But, then, we must deal with things as they are. There are very many places where the population is so small, and the deficiency of resources so great, that it is impossible, after paying all other working expenses, to reserve out of the school fund anything like 50*l.* for the master. What is to be done with places like these? If there is to be any school at all in such a place, it must be taught by a master of very humble attainments.

Now, there are always some men to be found whom it would not answer to train for higher fields of labour, but who might be useful in our village schools. How are these men to be prepared for their duties?

In the first place it would be very inexpedient to send them to ordinary training colleges. They would be quite unable to fall into the course of study pursued there. The custom which was once in vogue of admitting them as "extraordinary pupils," and allowing them to spend most of their time in the practising school, is one of which I cannot speak favourably. Three months, or even six months, thus spent seemed to me, generally speaking, to do the candidate very little good. He understood little, and carried away less. At the best, he never got much beyond the point of seeing "men as trees walking." It has, however, been suggested that one or more institutions might be founded specially to train teachers of this class. And no doubt this might be done at comparatively trifling cost. A very small staff of officers would suffice; for example, an active energetic clergyman of some attainments and apt to teach, with an assistant possessed of a practical knowledge of school work. A well-conducted elementary school should be at the disposal of the authorities. The course of study pursued should be very elementary, but at the same time as far as possible adapted to form and discipline the minds of the students. No collegiate buildings would be required; an ordinary house, commodious, and well-arranged, would sufficiently answer the purpose. The period of training should in every case be one year, neither more nor less.

A scheme like this is, I say, quite feasible, and might be so arranged as not to appear retrograde, but to seem and really to be, as regards a certain class of schools, a step in advance. The Committee of Council will not, of course, countenance or support it. It must be done, and it *ought* to be done by local associations. But it is more desirable, if possible, to hit upon a scheme for village schools in which the Committee of Council may co-operate.

I venture to give a rough outline of a plan that has suggested itself to me.

A certain number of pupil-teachers who have completed their apprenticeship fail in the annual examination for Queen's scholarships, and are thus unable to enter the training colleges. Many of these seek employment as assistant masters. Now all these young men have passed the Government inspector's examination in each year of their apprenticeship. Their *attainments*, therefore, are, we may presume, respectable, and probably superior to those of the majority of village schoolmasters.

Let the Committee of Council sanction the appointment of this class of men to the mastership of village schools, provided the schools to which they are appointed are placed under inspection, and let the Committee further allow the capitation grant to the managers, and also make a payment of 10*l.* yearly to the master.

The following restrictions should be imposed:—

(1.) The population of the parish in which the school is situated shall not exceed 500, and the number of children which the school is capable of accommodating shall not be more than 50.

(2.) In schools of this character, so aided, children shall not be required to learn any religious formulary to which their parents conscientiously object.

An ex-pupil-teacher taking charge of a village school should, as is at present the case with assistant-masters, be allowed a Queen's scholarship, without examination, after three years' service.

The fact that in a few years (after Dec. 1864) ex-pupil-teachers will not be eligible for assistant masterships is an argument in favour of this scheme, because a humble sphere of labour will thus be opened out to those who having failed to secure the means of residence in a training college, and being no longer able to take an assistant mastership, might otherwise be very much at a loss to find employment, and the means of living. At all events the case of village schools deserves attention. It is useless to urge that these schools *ought* to rise to the requirements of the Committee of Council. What with non-resident proprietors, poor incumbents, farmers indifferent or unfriendly to education, they *cannot* do it. Whenever it is done in such cases it will generally be found that the squire and the clergyman do it between them; very often the clergyman accepts and uncomplainingly bears the whole burden. And here I cannot help digressing. I am no great stickler for my order, but I do sincerely hope that the Education Commissioners will contrive to bring to light how much the parochial clergy give to the cause of national education. This piece of knowledge will do the clergy good, and the laity no harm. I will only add that the Minute of 26th July 1858 does not seem likely to be of much use to the class of schools we have been considering.

Note D.

Relative cost of the schoolmaster.

A friend has suggested to me the comparison between the cost of educating a schoolmaster and a clergyman. It has been shown that a well-trained master can be manufactured for about 90*l.*; a clergyman, *relatively as well educated*, must, under the most economical conditions, have spent something like 1,000*l.* in the process. But further, is it not true, and, if true, still more to the purpose, that every soldier in Her Majesty's regiments of foot has cost his country 100*l.* by the time he becomes efficient? But, indeed, Her Majesty's soldiers are, I believe, not so costly as Her Majesty's criminals, and the cheapest invention of the day is the schoolmaster, whose mission it is to make criminals less plentiful, and even soldiers less necessary. There ought to be no complaint about the cost of national education.

Note E.

The course of study pursued in training colleges "operates unfavourably on the teaching in elementary schools."

Elementary school teaching.

Much as the teaching in elementary schools has improved, it is not yet what it ought to be. I do not find fault with it on the ground that too many subjects are taught, but rather on account of the way in which these subjects are handled. It is here that we may discover the influence of the training school system.

Its mistakes and defects.

(1.) In the first place there is a tendency to load the children's memories with facts, so that many lessons are nothing more than a recital of names, dates, technical terms, &c.

(2.) There is a further tendency to carry the children into the more abstruse and remote departments of the various subjects rather than to exercise them in what is practical, domestic, and more closely connected with their own circumstances.

(3.) The lecturing system has made its way into elementary schools, and in many cases meets with too much favour. What are called "oral lessons" have their value, but they are apt to be discursive and indefinite, and they should, as a rule, be associated with some text-book and based upon it.

(4.) Teachers are, from the very nature of the case, under a temptation to prepare their scholars mainly with a view to make a good show at the inspector's visit, and though I believe that very few are guilty of yielding to this temptation in an extravagant degree, yet I think that many fail to appreciate the importance of *adapting* the subject-matter of their lessons to the moral and social necessities of their pupils.

These points may be briefly illustrated. Take, for instance, the Scripture teaching in Church of England schools. It will often be found defective in the *moral* element, often also defective in the *Christian* element. The children will, perhaps, show themselves well versed in Jewish history, able to trace accurately Israel's wanderings from Pi-hahiroth to the banks of Jordan, to canvass the merits of Hezekiah and the demerits of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, to give the dates of any number of Old Testament events, while at the same time they will exhibit a very superficial acquaintance with the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, and will soon betray the fact that the lessons they have received have not been given with any very direct reference to the formation of a moral and religious character in them.

Take, again, the subject of English history. It will hardly be denied that some knowledge of this subject is desirable even for the humblest Englishman. But what do children in national schools learn about it? Generally the dates at which the Sovereigns commenced their reigns, the great battles that were fought, the dynastic changes which took place, &c. Moreover, as the fashion is to begin at the beginning, and as children stay at school for a very short time, it will probably be found that the slender knowledge of history which the rising generation of artizans and peasants can boast of, is for the most part limited to the Roman and Saxon periods. Surely something might be done towards *adapting* history to the circumstances and requirements of children in elementary schools. It must be possible to make the character, the rise, and the progress of our great national institutions intelligible to them, and to give them interesting pictures of the glorious past of "the land they live in." So, too, with geography. It ought certainly to be brought more home to their business and bosoms than it is. England and her colonies, her commerce, and her manufactures, should supply the main part of the geographical lessons, while the rivers of Asiatic Russia, the islands of the Pacific, and the highest peak of the Pyrenees, may be pretermitted till the advent of that golden age of education when no child shall leave school under the age of fourteen.

I have charged some of the faults of school instruction on the training college course. I believe I am justified in doing so. That course supplies knowledge, but does not impart in an equal degree the power to use it. Trained teachers are not quite apt enough at discriminating between what is suitable and what is not suitable; they cannot always come down to the circumstances, wants, and capacities of their scholars.

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